

THE FOUNDATIONS OF GRAMMAR

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Volume 45

Jonathan Owens

*The Foundations of Grammar:
An Introduction to Medieval Arabic Grammatical Theory*

THE FOUNDATIONS OF GRAMMAR

AN INTRODUCTION TO
MEDIEVAL ARABIC GRAMMATICAL THEORY

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For Cedric Philip

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x

Symbols and conventions

Ç = emphatic/pharyngealized consonant

â long vowel

c IPA ɟ

' ?

th θ

dh ð

gh γ

kh x

sh ʃ

abs absolute

acc accusative

ag agent

AP active participle

com comment

def definite

dim diminutive

emp emphasis

f feminine

fut future

gen genitive

indef indefinite

indic indicative

imp imperative

jus jussive

m masculine

nom nominative

N noun

NP noun phrase

obj object

per perfective

pl plural

PP passive participle

prep preposition

pssd possessed

pssr possessor

psv passive

rel relative

S sentence

sbjc subjunctive

sg singular

TG transformational
grammar

top topic

voc vocative

x ---> y x governs y or

x becomes y
(according to context)

1 first person

3 third person

3 m sg perfective used as citation form, e.g. kataba "write"
(= "he wrote")

x/y (in interlinear glosses) portmanteau realization, e.g.

rijâl

man/pl (plurality part of pattern; cf. § 3)

PREFACE

An introductory work is usually appropriate only after a subject has been clarified through a considerable amount of research and debate. In these terms it would appear that an introductory text interpreting the Arabic grammatical tradition is long overdue: among linguists in the Arab world the study of Arabic grammar has enjoyed an uninterrupted tradition since the days of Sībawaih (d. 798) and before, and even in the West the orientalist philological tradition antedates the advent of (Saussurean) modern linguistics.

Curiously, however, I do not think that today one really is in a position to write a comprehensive introductory text on this subject. I use the word 'introductory' in the title in a different sense and for another reason, namely because any work which attempts to explain Arabic linguistics within a general or universal framework -- and this is my purpose -- must by force of circumstance be introductory. It is barely a decade (Carter 1973a, Diem 1970/1971) since the idea has been widely appreciated that Arabic linguistic practice could perspicaciously be understood within a framework of general linguistic principles. Since then more linguists have been looking at the Arabic grammarians in this light, but given the huge number of Arabic linguists involved, the complexity of some of the issues and the detail with which they were described, and then the need to evaluate these from different modern linguistic perspectives, one feels that only a small start has been made.

If the present work gives a taste of the issues involved it will have served one of its purposes; more hopefully it will encourage closer scrutiny of Arabic grammatical practice, and thereby hasten the day when a proper introduction can be written.

I would like to thank a number of people for their help, encouragement, and criticisms. My father, Professor Robert Owens, helped track down many hard to locate

references; Dr. Ali Al-Hamad of Yarmouk University was always ready to answer and clarify my questions; Michael Carter made a number of corrections, amendments and suggestions in chapter 1 and 2 and Dr. Mohammad Ajlouni did the same for chapter 8. Professor Ariel Bloch was kind enough to provide me with a pre-publication edition of his recent work on Arabic syntax and semantics. Finally, two anonymous readers provided a wealth of commentary on the entire manuscript; so far as possible I have tried to take this into account, and where I have not done so I hope it is as much as reflection on the multi-faceted nature of the subject itself as on any weaknesses in the present work. Thanks to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, I was able to complete the final preparation of this volume far faster than would otherwise have been the case.

Irbid, Jordan, May 1986
Erlangen, November 1986

Jonathan Owens

INTRODUCTION

1. Aims of the Work

The Arabic grammatical tradition is one of the great traditions in the history of linguistics, yet it is also one that is comparatively unknown to modern western linguistics. The purpose of the present book is to provide an introduction to this grammatical tradition not merely by summarizing it, but by putting it into a perspective that will make it accessible to any linguist trained in the western tradition. The reader should not be put off by the word 'medieval', with its overtones of arcane complexity and obscure methodology. Arabic grammatical theory shares a number of fundamental similarities with modern linguistic theory, which makes it relatively easy to discuss it before a western audience.¹ Indeed, one might argue that one reason Arabic theory has gone unappreciated for so long is that nothing like it existed in the West at the time of its 'discovery' by Europeans in the nineteenth century, when the European orientalist tradition was formed, and that it is only with the development of a Saussurean and Bloomfieldian structural tradition² that a better perspective has become possible.

This work follows Carter (1973a), who was one of the first to appreciate the contribution modern western linguistics could make to an understanding of Arabic theory. More recently there has been a greater interest in this approach to analyzing Arabic theory and it is hoped that the present work will help provide a framework for the further understanding of Arabic grammatical practice.

1.1 What the work does and does not do

Given the relatively unknown quality of Arabic linguistics, I think it appropriate to make clear what will and will not be covered in the course of this study.

1.1.1 What it does

There are two main topics covered. The first concerns what I consider the four basic theoretical points underpinning Arabic grammatical theory: class, structure and function, (in the sense of Bloomfield 1927/1971),³ discussed in chapter 8; and morphological theory, chapter 3.

Arabic theory is based on the notion of class, sets of items occurring at positions in structure, realizing certain functions. At the level of syntax these items are held together in terms of dependency relationships (Owens 1984b); at the level of morphology they realize positions as either basic or non-basic elements of the morphological structure. Pervading the entire edifice is a system of markedness which assigns a value, marked or unmarked, to each position in the structure, and to each item realizing a position (Versteegh 1978).

The second main topic exemplifies specific descriptive aspects of Arabic grammatical practice: word classification (chapter 4), the noun phrase (chapter 5), transitivity (chapter 6), and the relation between syntax and semantics (chapter 9). The aim here is to illustrate in some detail how the Arabic grammarians treated specific topics of grammar and how these are integrated into the overall framework outlined above. I also include a chapter on ellipsis (deletion, chapter 7), a structural problem that is treated at length in Arabic theory.

There are three appendices; the first gives a list of the Arabic grammarians treated here, their dates and where they worked; the second gives a very brief and schematic summary of Arabic grammar as formulated by the Arabic grammarians in order to facilitate the reading of the book. A familiarity with Arabic is not a necessary prerequisite for understanding the book and appendix II provides a convenient summary to which reference can be made for basic grammatical background material. In the text, the abbreviation in brackets (Ap x, x = number) tells the reader to refer to part x of appendix II for a summary of the grammatical construction under discussion.⁴

The third appendix contains the original Arabic quotes (Q x / α x = Arabic quote x in appendix III).

1.1.2 What the study does not do

1.1.2.1 Not a grammar of Arabic

This is not a grammar of Arabic. Many have been written in European languages, the most famous of which is Wright's (1898) revision of Caspari's grammar. This is a work which does an admirable job of summarizing the grammatical descriptions of the Arabic grammarians (Wright did not base his data on original textual research), though it gives little hint of the systematic theory that served as the foundation to these descriptions. It is this latter point that I concentrate on.

1.1.2.2 Not a comprehensive treatment of Arabic theory

In like fashion it does not deal with each topic in Arabic theory; for example there is little on subordination, pronominalization (cf. 2.12.2, cf. Carter 1985, Bloch 1986), negation, tense (Troupeau 1962b) or morphophonological rules (Bohas and Guillaume 1984). Topics such as these are important and do bear on an understanding of Arabic theory though limitations of space prevent each topic being covered in detail.

1.1.2.3 History of Arabic theory

This is not an explicit contribution to the history of Arabic grammatical theory, with the exception of section 1.2 below. I am not concerned with periodization as such, with establishing at what time a certain idea was introduced and why it was (Versteegh 1977, 1980a, 1980b, Carter 1972b, 1973b, Talmon 1982, 1985, Troupeau 1981). There are two qualifications to be made here, however, one arising from the nature of the period itself, the other from my method of presenting data.

First, I deal extensively only with the period between Mubarrad (d. 898) and Ibn ^CAqīl (d. 1367), with only limited reference to those earlier (e.g. Sībawaih d. 798) and those after (e. g. Suyūṭī, d. 1505). I have suggested (1984 b) that this is a fairly natural periodization. Sībawaih, whose *Kitāb* is the only extensive work devoted entirely to grammar that remains from the pre-Mubarrad period, was among the first codifiers of the Arabic language, was working by and large among native speakers of the language he was describing, and was concerned to write a comprehensive grammar of Arabic (his book runs to a dense⁵ 850 pages).

By Mubarrad's time classical Arabic was dying out as a native language (Beck 1946, Ferguson 1959, Blau 1977, Carter 1973b: 300) and the data used was for

the most part that which had been defined by Sībawaih and his contemporaries (cf. 1.4 below). There is not a great deal in Mubarrad that is not also found in Sībawaih.

While the data base was stagnating, if not becoming impoverished, the development of a tightly argued theory and clear descriptive technique was becoming more prominent. In this respect Mubarrad stands as a transitional figure between Sībawaih on the one hand and Mubarrad's student Sarrāj, on the other.

Sībawaih's *Kitāb*, as Carter (1973a: 146 n. 6) has noted, is almost unusable as a pedagogical tool. Versteegh (1977: 11) aptly describes it as "...a *diwān* (collection) of all the curiosities and *nawādir* (oddities, exceptions) of the Arabic language...". It is based on a coherent (though not yet fully understood) theoretical framework, but it is a framework whose principles are generally implicit and hence obscure to the non-expert. Moreover, his Arabic was sometimes less than elegant (Sībawaih was a native Persian) and the overall organization is not of the highest order. Further, if Carter (1972b) is correct, the very topic he describes is not really defined as a separate discipline. In his day grammar as an independent subject was not recognized as such, nor was the profession of grammarian.⁶

All this has changed by Sarrāj's (d. 928)⁷ time. He begins his major work, '*Al-Uṣūl fī l-Naḥw*' ("The Foundations of Grammar", the inspiration for my title) with an explicit definition of what grammarians *naḥwiyyūna* study. The study of grammar (*naḥw*) is divided into two parts, a descriptive account of the Arabic language, and an explanatory account that informs us why the Arabic language is as it is (IS I: 37^{α1}).⁸

Sarrāj's work is also striking for its organization, which is based on formal criteria. All subsequent grammarians covered in this survey assume Sarrāj's delimitation of grammar and to a greater or lesser extent follow his organization in presenting material, as I will show briefly in section 1.8 below.

Mubarrad stands somewhere between Sībawaih and Sarrāj. His work does not have the overall coherency of Sarrāj's (cf. 1.8), but descriptively there are enough affinities that I think his inclusion in this study can be justified. Moreover, from Mubarrad on there is an unbroken chain of extant grammatical works, after a hiatus of 70-90 years between Sībawaih's *Kitāb* and Mubarrad's *Muqtaḍab*. From Mubarrad we can trace the development of Arabic grammars continuously up to the present.⁹

Secondly, so far as possible I use the following procedure in introducing my topics: I include a reference from the earliest grammarians (in the period under study) whom I have found to have dealt with the issue under discussion, and also at least one reference from the same topic from one of the later ones. I do not attempt to establish whether every grammarian in the period discussed the question, but generally one can be fairly certain that if, for example, both Mubarrad (d. 898, IV: 329) and Ibn Hishām (d. 1360, QN: 119) said that in the sentence.

(1a) zaydun ^Cind-a-ka "Zayd is at your place".
-acc-yours

there is an understood, deleted verb ('*istaqarra* or *mustaqirrun* "remain"),

= (1b) zaydun mustaqirrun ^Cind-a-ka "Zayd (remains)
remaining at your place".

then nearly all the other grammarians covered in this survey did as well (cf. 7.2.3). This does seem to be the case (cf. Ibn Kaysân 109, Sarrâj I: 68, Sirâfî 509, Ibn Jinnî *Luma*^C: 112, Şaymarî 304, Jurjânî Muqt: 94, Zamakhsharî 23, Anbârî *Asrâr*: 73, Ibn Ya^Cîsh 1: 89, Astarâbâdhî *Sharḥu l-Kāfiya*: 92, 93, Ibn Aqîl I: 211).¹⁰

This is not to say that one simply has to study one of the grammarians to understand the whole period. Not all grammarians dealt with all the issues; some dealt with some only discursively, and there are frequently differences of emphasis and interpretation between them. Concentration on only one author fails to convey the richness of linguistic thinking in the period. However, there was a broad measure of agreement between the grammarians, and I think my method of referencing an early and a later grammarian will help establish whether or not the idea under discussion was one characteristic of the whole period or not.

1.1.2.4 Individual authors

I do not deal exhaustively with any individual author.¹¹ I do inevitably use some more than others for individual topics -- Mubarrad, Sarrâj and Ibn Jinnî, for example, are among my most important sources for general theoretical questions; Ibn Jinnî serves as my main source for morphology, Jurjânî for grammar and discourse, and so on. This follows naturally from the nature of the writings, the works with more detailed treatments of a given subject being given more attention

to the earlier grammarians, particularly those of the tenth century, than the later ones. They were more original, the later writers often only confirming and frequently, copying, what the earlier ones established. Thus, when I discuss morphology my main source is Ibn Jinnī, whose **Munşif** is one of the earliest surviving treatises devoted entirely to morphology, and I use Ibn ^CUşfūr (**'Al-Mumtī**), Ibn Ya'īsh (**Sharḥu l-Mulûkī**) and Ibn Ḥāḥib (**Majmû'atu l-Shāfiya**) only to clarify issues raised in Ibn Jinnī.

1.1.2.5 Historical and cultural perspectives

Finally, I provide little historical and cultural background to the period in which the Arabic grammarians were working. Writers have shown the very interesting links between Arabic linguistic practice and Islamic jurisprudence (Carter 1972b, Haarman 1974), medicine (Versteegh 1977, chapter 4) and theology (Kopf 1956); Versteegh (1977, 1980a, 1980b) has discussed the influence of the Greek and Syriac grammatical traditions on Arabic linguistic theory.¹² These are important and quite fascinating topics.

However, I feel a book of the present nature, one that treats Arabic theory as a self-contained theory of grammar, also has its place in the study of Arabic linguistics. Indeed, given the formal nature of Arabic theory, a point that will be established in the following chapters, I think that a full appreciation of this system can only be arrived at on a comparative basis, using modern linguistics as one of the bases of comparison.

In the rest of this chapter I will provide a general introduction to Arabic grammarians and their work, with the intention of providing a background to Arabic grammatical writing and of introducing issues the grammarians raised which are relevant to modern linguistics but which are outside the main thrust of this study. I briefly discuss the historical status of the linguistic schools of Basra and Kufa (1.2), give a brief typology of Arabic grammatical writing (1.3), and sketch what was considered linguistic data by the Arabic linguists (1.4). In 1.5 and 1.6 I give a general account of Arabic linguistic methodological perspective, and in 1.7 touch on the interesting observations the Arab grammarians had about language diversity and language change. Finally in 1.8 I briefly outline the organizational principles the Arabic grammarians used in constructing their grammars.

1.2 Who were the Arabic grammarians?

There were many Arabic linguists and their writings were prolific. In his bio-bibliographical work on

the Arabic linguists (**Ṭabaqāt**),¹³ written about 960, Zubaydī gives entries for 265 linguists (excluding from the count linguists known by name only with no bio-bibliographical information), and one can be sure his summary is not exhaustive. For instance, he does not list the late ninth century Baghdadi linguist Lughda (cf. below), and nearly 40% of his entries are on Andalusian linguists, whom Zubaydī, himself Andalusian, would have been more familiar with than those from other areas. By the early sixteenth century, the number has grown to 2,209 in Suyūṭī's **Bughyatu l-Wuṣṭā**.

As Versteegh (1985b:VII) makes clear, it is probably the case that there are more linguists whose writings have been lost to us than there are those for whom we have work. Again, there are probably more unedited manuscripts lying in museums and libraries throughout Europe, Turkey and the Arabic world than there are published sources (cf. Versteegh 1977: 116 for discussion of important unedited works).

To give two short illustrations of this, Mehiri (1973) gives 57 works in the bibliography of the important tenth century linguist Ibn Jinnī, some of them of book length, others quite short. These include 16 literary works. Of the total, some 12 have been edited at some time this century, 12 are unedited but exist in manuscript form, and the remainder have either been lost, or have not yet been located. Of the early tenth century linguist Zajjāj, of 19 titles known to us, only two have been published. Most have been lost altogether.

Given this situation a work like the present one can hardly claim to be anything close to comprehensive. There are, however, two mitigating factors. First, there is a fair amount of primary material available, and to a great extent the most important works have been published. For example, Ibn Jinnī's three most important works, **Sirru Ṣināʿati l-ʿArāb** (phonetics), **Al-Khaṣāʾiṣ** (general theory), and **Al-Munṣif** (morphology) have all been edited and published.¹⁴ While this is not always the case -- Zajjāj's important work on syntax for instance apparently has been totally lost -- we do have a fairly representative set of works for the Arabic linguists covered in this period.

Secondly, for reasons outlined below (1.4), all the linguists were concerned with teaching classical Arabic. The Arabic they dealt with was the Arabic of the sixth-eighth centuries, and this became more and more different from the local dialects as time passed.

To some extent they were teaching a foreign language, certainly a foreign dialect.

Arabic grammatical work thus increasingly came to reflect a pedagogical concern (Carter 1985a: 270). Linguistics in each part of the extensive Arab world, and linguists in each new generation had to create their own teaching material. Already one finds Sarrâj (d. 928) stating at the very beginning of his opus magnum, *Al-'Uṣûl fî l-Naḥw* that "by grammar I intend what the speaker should follow (*yanḥu* "follow, imitate") when you teach him the Arabic language."

To carry out this work, they followed norms that had been gradually built up from the time of the earliest linguists, here and there reorganizing the work, providing slight changes in theoretical perspective, giving a greater or lesser degree of detail, but always staying within the general framework developed early in the history of Arabic grammatical theory, always using the same data (cf. 1.4), and usually having the pedagogical value of the work in mind. Carter's summary of what the situation had become by the mid-eleventh century is not inappropriate: "...the major preoccupation of grammarians...(after 1077)...was to find ever new ways of saying the same thing." (1985a: 270).

Thus, in the present survey one does not find radically differing opinions, and if many works have been excluded from the study (by force of circumstance), for the most part their inclusion would not radically alter the findings.

1.2.1 The schools of grammar

By far the most interesting period in the history of Arabic grammar is that between the eighth and the end of the tenth centuries, the period bounded by Sîbawaih at the earlier end and Ibn Fâris (d. 1004) at the later. It is our great misfortune that for almost half this period, for the entire ninth century, the purely grammatical work of only one author, Mubarrad, is available in any extensive detail, and he comes in the second half of the ninth century.

What makes this lacuna so devastating is first of all that this is the formative period of Arabic theory, the period which set the theoretical stage for much of the later work, and secondly because it is the era when the sharpest linguistic debates went on, the period of the greatest diversity in Arabic theory. This debate is epitomized in the two schools of Arabic linguistics, the Kufan and Basran.¹⁵

According to Troupeau (1962a: 388) the Kufan school was ascendent at first (Troupeau 1962a: 388, Versteegh 1977 chapter 5), an ascendancy legendized in the (perhaps apocryphal) debate between the Kufan Kisâ'î and the Basran Sîbawaih which resulted in the latter's defeat and voluntary exile.

The Kufans flourished under Kisâ'î, Farrâ', and Tha^clab, few of whose purely grammatical works remain (cf. 1.3.6, 1.3.8). Gradually, however, the Basran school (Sîbawaih, 'Akhfash Al-'Awṣat, Mâzinî, Jarmî, Sijistânî, Mubarrad) gained the upper hand, and by the tenth century was the recognized arbitrator of linguistic opinion (Sezgin 1984: 8, 9).¹⁶

The historical reality of the two schools has, however, been challenged. The extreme views are represented by Carter (1973b) and Versteegh (1977 chapter 5).

Carter, following Weil,¹⁷ argues that the two schools were creations of tenth century linguists whose concern was to establish a linguistic orthodoxy by contrasting the correct Basran view with the incorrect Kufan. Thus, in the ultimate summation of the arguments surrounding the two schools, Anbârî's (d. 1182) **Inṣâf** only a very few of the arguments are won by the Kufans (cf. 4.9), and in the standard tenth century grammars (e.g. Zajjâjî's **Jumal**, Fârisî's **Idâh**, Ibn Jinnî's **Luma^c**) and all later ones, the viewpoint is orthodox Basran.

Versteegh (1977, also Obler 1980: 346) on the other hand accepts the reality of the two schools, adducing by way of evidence references to "Kufa" and "Basra" by the ninth century linguists themselves.

I think the reality is somewhere between these two positions, probably closer to Carter's, though I think a clarification will depend to a large degree on a more careful charting of the differences between the two schools and their origins in the ninth century linguists themselves than has yet been made. The following is intended as a small step in this direction.

1.2.1.1 The nature of the disputes; two examples

One basic point that should be reiterated is that whatever differences there were that existed, they were not very great (Sketkevych 1970: 11, Belguedj 1973: 176, 182, Versteegh 1977: 111). The core grammar of Arabic as defined in the rest of this book and summarized in 1.1.1, structure, function, class, dependency, markedness and morphological theory, was accepted by all linguists (cf. for e.g. 2.3.4.2 and n. 75), and

such differences as there were on the fringes of this core. Certainly the differences between a dependency and constituency approach in modern linguistics, or between transformational-generative grammar of 1985 and that of 1970 are much greater than any differences in the ninth century Arabic theory. This fact alone, I think, would serve to minimize the importance of the linguistic schools. Moreover, by the end of the ninth century and in the early tenth one reads of linguists like Zajjāj (introduction to *Mā Yanṣarifu wa mā lā Yanṣarifu*, p. 7) and Ibn Kaysān (Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḡāt*: 153) who studied under both Kufans and Basrans (Thaḡlab and Mubarrad, respectively). That is, linguists could move easily between one party and the other, a move doubtlessly facilitated by the fact that the theoretical differences were not great.

On the other hand, there certainly were differences of opinion on various issues, some of which may even have antedated the (reputed) period of the two schools (Beck 1946, Belguedj 1973: 175). One of these was over the nature of linguistic data, for example what literacy material was representative of correct Arabic, and how it should be interpreted. Here those who were fairly liberal in the sources they allowed were the Kufans (Iq: 201, 202, Carter 1973b: 303).

There were also differences over specific linguistic analyses.¹⁸ It is interesting in this regard to look at two linguists who wrote in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, Lughda¹⁹ and Ibn Kaysān,²⁰ whose short grammars have become available only relatively recently.

Lughda's short grammar is interesting because it gives us a glimpse of a relatively minor figure who presumably would have been Basran as he was a friend of 'Aṣma^cī and Bāhilī, a friend of the Basran 'Akhfash, but whose grammar shows evidence of a number of distinctly kufan (pace Anbārī) ideas.²¹

(1) A Predicate locative is in the accusative because it is referentially distinct from the subject (233, cf. e. g. (1), n. 10 above and 2.4.3, 7.2.3).

(2) *zaydun* ^c*ind-a-ka* "Zayd is at your place".

(2) The genitive particles (225, 226) include circumstantial nouns (adverbs); e. g. *bi* "by means of", *min* "from", *khalf* "behind", *taḥt* "beneath", ^c*ind* "at", are all particles (*ḥurūf jarr*). Sarrāj (I: 245, 246) notes that this is Kisā'ī's and Farrā's (both Kufans) classification (cf. discussion in 4.7.1.3/4 and n. 156 chapter 4).

(3) The dual and plural suffixes (222) do themselves have inflectional value, something Anbârî (In: 32) regards as typically Kufan (cf. 3.3.4).

(3) muslim-â-nî "2 Muslims"
nom

muslim-ay-nî "2 Muslims" (acc/gen)
acc/gen

Furthermore, ni^Cma "how good" and bi'sa "how bad" (229) are simply called *kalimatân* "two words", as if he wants to avoid committing himself on the question of whether they are nouns (Kufa) or verbs (Basra) (In: 97-125 #14).²²

At the same time he holds two distinctly Basran views.

(1) The active participle is a noun (243). The Kufan view is that it is a verb (cf. 4.8).

(2) He recognizes the 'verb', not 'noun' of exclamation as the Kufans called it (In: 126-146 # 15; cf. 4.9).

(4) mâ 'ahsana zaydun "How good Zayd is!"
how good

In contrast to this, the only distinctly Kufan view found in Ibn Kaysân is that of e. g. (3) above, where he considers the dual and plural suffixes to be inflectional markers (106, 107). This is despite the fact that Ibn Kaysân was listed among the Kufan linguists by Zubaydî (*Ṭabaqât*: 153)!²³

A striking aspect of Lughda's work is that he himself never mentions "Kufan" or "Basran" in his description, nor does Ibn Kaysân. This is not to say that different opinions on certain subjects are not discussed. Ibn Kaysân (109) for instance when discussing the governor of the topic and comment says that "...some of them (i.e. grammarians) say they (topic and comment) govern each other in the nominative"²⁴ (cf. 2.3.5.3 for explanation). This is a Kufan idea (In: 44 # 3), but is not identified as such here.²⁴

An initial summary that suggests itself is that, as Versteegh notes, there were a number of different opinions current in the ninth century but (contra Versteegh I believe) many, if not most of them could simply be held by various linguists without being associated in an important way with any school.

1.2.1.2 References to Kufa and Basra in ninth century work

However, Versteegh is correct in pointing out that there are references by ninth century linguists to the two

schools, and a closer look at these references will help throw light on their status.

First, as Weil (summarized in Carter 1973b) noted, in Sībawaih's day there were no schools of linguistics, and in the *Kitāb* there are no references to them. The same, moreover, is true of Sībawaih's immediate successors. Neither 'Akhfash ('Al-'Awṣat), Sībawaih's pupil and presumably one of the chief protagonists of the Basran linguists, nor his contemporary Farr'ā' the main proponent of the Kufan viewpoint, mention Kufa/Basra in their lengthy Quranic interpretations²⁵ (cf. 1.3.6).

In the late eighth and early ninth centuries, therefore, it appears that the Kufan and Basran schools were not historical entities.

In the last half of the ninth century there are some references to the two, though not many. These are found in Mubarrad, heir to the Basran tradition, and Tha^Clab, associated with Kufan ideas. This fact would suggest that these appellations would have had some reality for linguists at the time. The question is to define how important it was.

The most important point that emerges from Mubarrad's four-volume grammatical work '*Al-Muqtaḍab* is that he made only one reference to Kufans (II: 156),²⁶ and in the first of his two volume work *Majālis* Tha^Clab has only one.

Mubarrad has nine references to the 'Basran' grammarians, all in volumes I and II.²⁷ Among all his references to linguists in one form or another, this is quite a small number. Somewhat more frequently he refers to linguists by name, particularly Sībawaih, 'Akhfash, and Māzinī (his teacher), and to "grammarians" in general (*naḥwiyyūna*).²⁸ This latter term he uses (at least) 59 times.²⁹

When Mubarrad cites any of these three categories (Basrans, particular grammarians, *naḥwiyyūna*) it is to agree with them, disagree (completely or partly) or simply to provide information about a topic. He disagrees three times with what the Basrans said (Vol 1: 101, 102, 107); 16 times with the *naḥwiyyūna* (e.g. I: 165, II: 131³⁰ 292, III: 98, 127, 312, 326, IV: 156) and as one small sample of his references to specific linguists in volume II of approximately 16 explicit references to Sībawaih, he disagrees 13 times and agrees, or at least does not disagree, only three times.³¹

In volume I of Tha^Clab's *Majâlis* I count eight references to "Basrans".³² Four of these are to provide a contrast with the views of the early Kufans Kisâ'î and Farrâ',³³ and one a contrast with nahnu "us" (Tha^Clab's faction?, the Kufans?). Tha^Clab's single reference to the Kufans (I: 106) is interesting. It is a view that contrasts with Sîbawaih's over whether one can degeminate the /n/ of 'inna "emphasis particle" before -nî "me, object" and reduce it to 'innî. Tha^Clab suggests that both views are correct.

One general impression that is derived from Mubarrad's and Tha^Clab's references to Basrans, Kufans, grammarians and individual linguists is that they were interested not so much in associating themselves with one faction or another as with defining various linguistic issues, agreeing or disagreeing with ideas developed by their predecessors and contemporaries, refining them, noting them as plausible, though not necessary explanations, with defining their status according to the linguistic thought of the day.³⁴

In this exercise the terms "Kufan" and "Basran" have only a rather marginal part to play, and for Mubarrad certainly, and probably for Tha^Clab as well (though I have not given this so much attention), and also, so far as our information goes, Ibn Kaysân and Lughda (1.2.1.1) they do not constitute "schools" in the sense of signifying a well-defined canon of knowledge.

This is not to say that these epithets would have been completely irrelevant to these ninth century linguists. There were distinct academic lineages: Mubarrad traced his descent back to Sîbawaih via Mâzinî and 'Akhfash and a few others (e. g. Jarmî); Tha^Clab derived his from Farrâ' and Kisâ'î. This is obvious in the citations of the respective authors: Mubarrad rarely cites Farrâ' and Kisâ'î; Tha^Clab on the other hand has frequent references to them at the expense of Mâzinî and 'Akhfash and even Sîbawaih, though Sîbawaih was too important a figure to be totally left out. Insofar as Mubarrad and Tha^Clab symbolized these lineages in Arabic linguistics of the second half of the ninth century³⁵ they can be said to be the first of the Basrans and Kufans, where these labels stand for associations that would have been recognized by the linguists themselves.³⁶ In this perspective Mubarrad's mention of the Basrans, relatively infrequent and not of great linguistic significance, can be seen as a symbolic act of reasserting his patrimony, as defining himself as an heir of Sîbawaih.³⁷

1.2.2 Post-ninth century

By the tenth century the data base of Arabic became fossilized (Beck 1946, cf. 1.4) and the grammarians became more and more interested in categorizing and codifying the facts of Arabic, where the facts were what had already been defined by the eighth and ninth century linguists. However, as noted above, there was a considerable amount of variation in opinion on various points, some of it contradictory, and the way the successors of Mubarrad and Thaḡlab dealt with this was to classify it into two idealized 'schools' of linguistics. It was natural to choose as epithets for these the two main linguistic lineages of the ninth century, the Kufans and Basrans.

As Weil (noted by Carter 1973b: 302) observed, that the Basran should be chosen as the dominant one follows from the status bestowed on it by its chief representative, Sībawaih.

It was in the tenth³⁸ and subsequent centuries that Basra and Kufa became defined as 'schools' in the sense of representing specific linguistic viewpoints, where issues were defined more sharply and precisely than they had ever been in the ninth century when they might have had some historical reality. Paradoxically, the schools thus existed as proper schools only when neither had any real proponents: Basran and Kufan were appellations for particular views on particular topics, views which once defined have become more or less immutable up to the present day.

All the standard grammars have been written from a Basran perspective, but at the same time all books of any detail (e.g. Naḥḥās' 'Iḥrābu l-Qurān, Qaysī's *Mushakkilu ḥrābi l-Qurān*, Ibn Yaḥyā's *Sharḥu l-Mufaṣṣal*, 'Astarābādī's *Sharḥu l-Kāfiya*) duly note the alternative Kufans viewpoints as well.³⁹

Beyond codifying the Kufan-Basran debate, the tenth century is interesting for the theoretical questions that were raised (Anghelescu 1985). It is in this period that linguistic explanation came into its own; questions were addressed such as why a certain phonetic form is used to represent the nominative case and another one the accusative (cf. 8.6.5); why the case and mode endings come at the end, not the beginning or middle of a word (Zajjājī *Iḍ*: 76, Fārisī 'Aq: 213), and so on. Particularly notable here are works like Zajjājī's *Iḍāh*, Fārisī's short *Al-Masā'ilu l-Askariyāt* and 'Aqsāmu l-'Akhbār, and especially Ibn Jinnī's *Khaṣā'iṣ*.

In later centuries grammarians were concerned mainly with preserving the results of the earlier periods, with reworking the material, both descriptive and theoretical. This is not to say that their work is without interest. I argue in chapter 9 that with Jurjānī (d. 1078) Arabic theory reached its most sophisticated level, and Anbārī's *Inṣāf* is notable not only for being the primary documentation of the Kufan-Basran debates, but also for its exposition of linguistic methodology, where it surely must rank among the classics of linguistics in this genre.

Moreover, works such as Ibn Ya^Cīsh' *Sharḥu l-Mufaṣṣal* and Ibn Hishām's *Mughnī l-Labīb* are compendious reference works, rich in detail and well-organized. What the later period lacks in originality, it makes up for to some extent in its rigorous detail and organizational concision.

1.3 Arabic grammatical work

In this section I will attempt a very brief typology of Arabic grammatical work. I have no pretensions to being comprehensive, either in terms of the bibliographic entries or in typological detail. I include only works which have been available to me, which means that there are important works left off. I would note in particular the gap left in the late tenth century by the exclusion of Rummānī.

1.3.1 Descriptive grammars

The core of Arabic theory is represented in the general descriptive grammars, the most famous of which is Sībawaih's *Kitāb* (Sīb).⁴⁰ For the period covered in this study (cf. 1.1.2.3) the grammars include Mubarrad's *Muqtaḍab* (Mub), Sarrāj's *'Al-'Uṣūl fī l-Naḥw* (IS), Saymarī's *'Al-Tabsira wa l-Tadhkira*,⁴¹ Zamakhsharī's *Mufaṣṣal* (Zam), Ibn Hishām's *Mughnī l-Labīb* (ML), Suyūṭī's *Ham'u l-Hawāmi*^C *Sharḥu Jamī'i l-Jawāmi*^C (HH), and Bāshā's *'Asrāru l-Naḥw*.

An important sub-genre here is a grammatical work written as a commentary on another work. Usually the commentator chooses a relatively short work whose text is included in its entirety in the commentator's edition and expands on it considerably. The seminal work of this sort is Sīrāfī's (the elder) commentary on the detailed work of Sībawaih (Sīb). Other examples of this approach are Ukbarī's commentary on Ibn Jinnī's *Luma*^C, Jurjānī's commentary *Kitābu l-Muqtaṣid* (Muqt) on Fārisī's *Idāḥ*⁴² (Id), Baṭalyūsī's (Baṭ, also Baṭlyūsī,

and Baṭalyawsī) commentary on Zajjājī's *Jumal*, Ibn Ya'īsh's (IY) commentary on Zamakhsharī's *Mufaṣṣal*, Ibn Hishām Haḍamī's (Andalusian) commentary on Zajjājī's *Jumal*, 'Astarābādī's (SK) commentary on Ibn Hājib's *Kitāb l-Kāfiya*,⁴³ and Ibn Hishām's commentary on one of his own short works, *Qutrū l-Nadā wa Ballu l-Ṣadā* (QN). A particularly popular source of commentary was inspired by the grammatical work of the Damascene linguist Ibn Mālik. He summarized the entire grammar in a long rhyming poem '*Alfiyya*', which inspired commentaries by Ibn Aqīl (IA) *Sharḥu Ibn Aqīl*, 'Ushmawnī's *Sharḥu l-'Ushmawnī* and Ibn Al-Nāḍhim's *Sharḥu 'Alfiyyati Ibn Mālik*, as well as others.

The works cited so far are all rather detailed. In addition short teaching grammars were written, including Lughda's *Kitābu l-Naḥw*, Ibn Kaysān's *Kitābu l-Muwaffaqī fī l-Naḥw*, Sarrāj's '*Al-Mūjazu fī l-Naḥw* (Mūjaz), Zajjājī's '*Al-Jumāl fī l-Naḥw* (Jumal), Zubaydī's *Kitābu l-Wāḍih*, (KW) Fārisī's *Idāh* (Id), Ibn Jinnī's *Luma*, Ibn Hājib's *Kitābu l-Kāfiya* and Shirbinī's commentary on Ibn Ajur-rūm's *Ajurrūmiyya* (Carter 1981).

1.3.2 Specialized subjects

All of the works cited consider both syntax and morphology, though they tend to emphasize syntax. There were, however, books devoted exclusively to morphology, including Ibn Jinnī's *Munṣif* (Mun), a commentary on the work of the ninth century linguist Māzinī, Ibn Uṣfūr's '*Al-Mumti*', Ibn Ya'īsh's *Sharḥu l-Mulūkī* (SM), a commentary on one of Ibn Jinnī's short works, '*Al-Mulūkī*', and Ibn Hājib's *Kitābu l-Shāfiya* along with its commentaries.

Phonetics was covered in many of the general works, but was given its most detailed treatment in Ibn Jinnī's *Sirru Ṣinā'ati l-'Iṣrāb*, and Ibn Sīnā's briefer *Asbābu Ḥudūthi l-Ḥurūf*.

Zajjāj's *Mā Yanṣarifu wa mā lā Yanṣarif* is a summary of irregularly inflected nouns, a topic also covered in the general works.

Other books dealing with specialized topics are Aṣma'ī's *Kitābu l-'Ishtiḳāq*, a book on proper noun derivation and one of the earlier grammatical works available. Ibn Durayd's three volume work on the same subject and having the same title is among the most detailed available. Others are Sijistānī's *Fa'altu wa 'Afaltu*, which summarizes the verbs which occur in the derived form '*afala*', Harawī's *Kitābu l-Lāmāt*, one of a number of books which summarizes all the various

meanings assumed by the particle *l* (=lām), and Abū Bakr al-'Anbārī's (not the author of *Inṣāf*) *Kitābu l-'Alī-fāt* which performs a similar exercise for the sound /'/. Farrā' wrote an early treatise on masculine and feminine nouns, summarizing their morphological form and meaning, '*Al-Mudhakkaru wa l-Mu'annath*, and Ibn Jinnī has a similar work by the same title. I might also note here Zamakhsharī's '*Al-'Aḥājī l-Naḥwiyya*, a short work which deals with various problematic topics in Arabic grammar.

1.3.3 General principles

A third category includes books on general theory ('*uṣūl*). I should caution that for the most part this is not general theory as understood by modern western linguistics. It is not universal grammar. On the contrary, it is concerned almost exclusively with explaining the 'why's' of Arabic grammar (cf. 1.2.2, 1.5, cf. n. 8 above and 8.5-8.8). Zajjājī's *Al Idāhu fī ilali l-Naḥw* (IQ) is perhaps the first of this type, and the most compendious is Ibn Jinnī's *Khaṣā'is*. Others include Fārisī's '*Aqsāmu l-'Akhbār* ('Aq), and *Al Masā'ilu l-Askariyāt* (Ask), parts of Ibn Fāris' '*Al-Sāhibī*, Anbārī's *Luma'u l-'Adilla*, and Suyūṭī's *Kitābu l-'Iqtirāḥ fī Ilmi 'Usūli l-Naḥw* (IQ), while Ibn Maḍā's *Kitābu l-Raddi Alā l-Naḥā* is a general criticism of the methods and conclusions established in this tradition. Also, Anbārī's '*Asrāru l-'Arabiyya* can be mentioned here as well. Ostensibly it is simply a general grammar, but its main concern is to take up the why's of grammatical forms rather than simply describing them.

A book which implicitly sets out the methodology of Arabic linguistic argumentation is Anbārī's '*Al-Inṣāfu fī Masā'il l-Khilāfi Bayna l-Naḥwiyyīna l-Baṣriyyīna wa l-Kūfiyyīna* (In). It is more akin to principles of argumentation in western linguistics than to the principles ('*uṣūl*) of Arabic grammatical theory, though it does assume the latter as one point of departure.

1.3.4 Rhetoric (*balāgha*)

A category of linguistic analysis firmly established rather late is roughly translated as "rhetoric" (*balāgha*) though it intersected with traditional grammatical categories in a number of important respects, as will be outlined in chapter 9. Its most important proponent is Jurjānī, *Dalā'il l-'Ijāz* (Dal) and *Asrāru l-Balāgha*, though his contemporary Khafājī was working along similar lines in his *Sirru l-Faṣāḥa*. Qazwīnī's '*Al-Idāḥ fī*

^CU^Clūmi l-Balāgha follows Jurjānī closely, while Sakkākī's Miftāḥu l-^CU^Clūm perhaps more than any other work provides this sub-discipline with its own niche within the study of the Arabic language.

1.3.5 Lexicography (cf. Wild 1956, Rippen 1983)

The first lexicographer was Sibawaih's teacher Khalīl who wrote the dictionary Kitābu l-^CAyn. The lexicographical tradition is carried on by Al-Azharī (Tahdhību l-Lughā) among others. In addition, a lexicographical tradition developed around a number of specialized thematic and semantic fields. For example, books were written on the uninflected words in Arabic (cf. chapter 4), including Zajjājī's Kitābu l-Hurūf, part of Ibn Fāris' Ṣāḥibī, and (more adequately) part of Ibn Hishām's Muḡnī l-Labīb. Tha'ālabī's Al-Ashbāhu wa l-Nadhā'ir catalogues the polysemous words in the Qur'ān, and Ibn Fāris' Kitābu l-Farq defines the different meanings words relating to the body can take according to whether they refer to people or animals. Notable in this genre is Baṭalyūsī's Al-Farq bayna l-Hurūfi l-Xamsa, which takes the sounds /s, ṣ, ḍ, dh, dh/ and defines words/roots (cf. chapter 3) which (1) are distinguished minimally by these sounds, e.g. (p. 417) **samt/ṣamt** "of good appearance/long silence" and (2) minimally by different linear permutations of the same sounds, e.g. (p. 499), **ḥṣr** "be surrounded", **ḥrṣ** "want s.t.", **ṣḥr** (ṣaḥrā') desert (cf. Ibn Jinnī's 'Ishtiqāq al-Kabīr, 3.4). The method implicitly gives recognition to the paradigmatic phonemic principle, and to syntagmatic (sequential) order.

Of further interest to lexicographers was the notion of 'aḍḍād, the study of antonymous and/or contradictory meanings in similar or identical words (cf. Cohen 1961 for discussion).

1.3.6 Quranic interpretation

One of the most important sources for the views of ninth century linguists comes from their verse by verse interpretations of the Qur'ān. These give not only the general meanings and variant pronunciations but also a detailed grammatical interpretation of each verse. Farrā's Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān is the first and perhaps most important of these. Certainly it contains the richest source of "Kufan" opinion available to us. His contemporary 'Akhfash, the student of Sibawaih, gives a "Basran" view in his Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān. The tradition is carried on in Naḥḥās' 'Iṣrābu l-Qur'ān and Qaysī's Kitābu Mushakkilī ^Crābī l-Qur'ān, among others.

1.3.7 Bio-bibliographical sources

At a number of times in the history of Arabic linguistics bio-bibliographic works were written which included short biographies, bibliographic information, and random gossip about grammarians (**naḥwiyyūna**) and linguists (**lughawiyyūna**) (cf. n. 13 and Sezgin 1984: 11 ff., Talmon 1985 for extensive citation of references). Two I have used are Zubaydī's **Ṭabaqātu l-Naḥwiyyīna wa l-Lughawiyyīna**, among the first written, and Suyūṭī's **Bughyatu l-Wu'ātī** (BW).

1.3.8 Ancillary works

As will be explained below, one of the main sources of linguistic data comes from poetry and the **Qur'an**, and the interpretation of various passages had important bearing on various linguistic analyses. Accordingly, a good number of books were written that were concerned exclusively with describing and analyzing the passages that were relevant to these questions. Thaḥlab **Majālis** is an early example of this type of work. Sīrāfī's (the younger) **Sharḥu 'Abyāt Sībawaih** discusses all the poetic passages used by Sībawaih and Ghundajānī's **Furhatu l-'Adīb** is a reply to and a criticism of Sīrāfī, mainly from a literary viewpoint.

Batalyūṣī's **'Al-'Insāfu fī l-Tanbīhi 'ala l-Ma'ānī wa l-'Asbābi llatī 'Āwjabati l-'Ikhtilāfi bayna l-Muslimīna fī 'Arā'ihim** (In) is a discussion on various doctrinal differences within the Hanafiyya school of jurisprudence, where linguistic questions played a major role in a number of the disputes.

Finally, in his **Muqaddima** Ibn Khaldūn has a brief though incisive section on the state of the Arabic language in his day (fourteenth century), touching on questions the professional linguists found convenient to ignore (cf. note 44 below).

1.4 The data

Suyūṭī (Iq: 48-56) says that there are three sources to the study of Arabic, the sayings and actions of the Prophet (**sunna**; cf. Batalyūṣī, In 155-190 and Anbārī **Luma'**: 86 ff.), the Arabic language as spoken by reliable speakers, and the **Holy Qur'ān**. The Qur'ānic analysis rested mainly on a single standardized text (the Othmanic text), but to some extent the different readings traditions that developed in the seventh and eighth centuries were also taken into consideration (cf. Baalbaki 1985, Bobzin 1985).

The second category, the Arabic language, can be divided between textual material -- pre-Islamic poetry for example -- and native informants. Tradition had it that those who spoke the purest Arabic were Bedouins (Khaṣ II: 5, Blau 1963, Versteegh 1983b: 150), though in practice a grammarian like Sībawaih, who was not a native speaker of Arabic, relied a great deal on the judgments of his own colleagues (Beck 1946: 196-197). Sībawaih in particular cites the opinions of his teacher Khalīl and Yūnus.

By the time of Mubarrad (d. 898) the second source of data, the native speaker, has virtually dropped out of consideration (Beck 1946: 223). As Arabs expanded from Arabia and established an empire stretching from Spain to Persia, the Arabic language itself underwent considerable change due to intermarriage and the influence of other languages (Anbārī *Luma*^C: 81, Ibn Khaldūn *Muqad-dima*: 556, 559). As a result the later dialects came to be considered adulterated and not comparable to the Arabic of the sixth to early eighth centuries (Versteegh 1983b: 139).

As Beck (1946) has shown, a great deal of variation in Qur'ānic readings was countenanced in the earliest Islamic period, the varieties based to a large degree on attested dialectical variants, on the different forms used by native speakers. By the early ninth century, however, the limit to variation had become fixed and few new innovations were allowed on the basis of dialectical differences.

In the light of this situation, later grammarians almost never rely on their own intuitions to decide an issue, a reflection of the changing nature of Arabic: the form of Arabic described by Sībawaih and preserved in later grammatical descriptions was no longer the native language of the grammarians themselves (cf. n. 48).

The first source was never very helpful for purposes of linguistic analysis. As Baṭalyūṣī (In: 164 ff. also Kopf 1956: 50) pointed out, what was transmitted of the *sunna* often was general meanings rather than actual sentences, which varied so much from one source to another as to be of little use as a tool for textual analysis.

This leaves two sources, the *Qur'ān* and poetry, and these two continue to be used extensively by all linguists, and indeed form two of the sub-domains of linguistic research (cf. 1.3.6, 1.3.8). The status

of these two sources as the touchstone of proper Arabic is reflected in Ibn Jinnī's (*Sirru ṣināʿati l-ʿarāb*: 46) evaluation of the eight sub-standard sounds traditionally described, but also proscribed in Arabic phonetics, as "set out neither in the Qur'ān nor poetry".

However, the Qur'ān is immutable, since it is the word of God, and hence the form defined by the earlier linguists (e.g. Farrā', 'Akhfash) came to be the accepted norm (*ṣaḥībī*:33, cf. Kopf 1956: 58). Similarly, the poetry used by the later grammarians is still that of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic era, the same as Sībawaih used. The two authorities, *The Qur'ān* and poetry, became equally fossilized sources (Beck 1946: 209, 210).

A new source for the later grammarians, however, emerged in the work of the early grammarians themselves.⁴⁴ Most of what is described by Sībawaih (Langhade 1985: 108) and his immediate successors becomes basic data for the later grammarians. It was seen above (1.3.1) that one of the favorite modes of linguistic exposition was the commentary on an earlier work, and this was well established before the end of the tenth century.⁴⁵ In addition, the general grammars frequently took whole examples from the earlier works. One example from Sarrāj (I: 152) discussed in (2.3.4.2) is based on Mubarrad (IV: 99),

(5) <u>*kānat</u>	<u>zaydan</u>	<u>'al-hummā</u>	<u>ta'khidhu</u>
was	Zayū	def fever	taking

This in turn appears in Sībawaih (I: 28). It is not unusual to find an example from Sībawaih or Mubarrad or other of the earlier linguists turning up a few hundred years later in Anbārī or Ibn Ya'īsh, or the like.⁴⁶

There is a great deal of work to be done to establish exactly how many types of examples were transmitted from one generation of linguists to the next, and whether and how they were reinterpreted. It is rare to find wholesale copying of the interpretations associated with a type of example, but it is equally rare to find reinterpretation.

1.5 The descriptive technique

Except for certain fairly circumscribed topics discussed briefly in 1.7, Arabic grammatical theory uses a rigid synchronic method, and is severely formal in overall design. These two perspectives are reflected in the main goals of Arabic theory, which, as noted

in Sarrâj's formulation above (1.1.2.3 Q 1) are to describe the Arabic language and to explain all its aspects.

The Arabic language is an immutable object. This is the language in which God chose to reveal His word, enshrined in the **Holy Qur'ân**, to the world (Ibn Fâris **Şâhibî**: 42). It is the best language (**Ṭabaqât**: 11, Khaṣ I: 241 ff.) phonetically, grammatically, lexically, and esthetically. Thus, while one can translate the holy books of other languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Ethiopic, Persian) into Arabic, one cannot translate the **Qur'ân** into other languages since these languages do not have the technical and esthetic characteristics requisite for this task (Ibn Fâris 16, 17 ff.^{α 3}).

Not untypical of the grammarians' estimation of Arabic is the following summary by Zubaydî (**Ṭabaqât**: 11).

Then (God) gave each people their language to speak and made the Arabic language the most mellifluous to pronounce, the most reasonable of organization, clearest in expression and the most versatile.^{α 4}

However, as noted above, the Arabic language of the **Qur'ân** existed only in the period between the sixth and eighth centuries. By the tenth century one finds linguists (Zajjâjî Iq: 95, Ibn Fâris 55, 56, Jurjânî Dal: 24) complaining that people do not speak Arabic correctly. The people had moved away from the dialect in which the **Qur'ân** was revealed (cf. n. 46 above).

Under these conditions the only perspective imaginable is a synchronic one. Arabic, the object of study of the grammarians, cannot change because this would imply that God's word changed.

With the possible exception of Sîbawaih (Carter 1973a, Baalbaki 1979), the pedagogical concern was never very far from the grammarians' minds (Versteegh 1980b: 141). Indeed, in his brief resumé of the development of Arabic grammar, Zubaydî (**Ṭabaqât**: 11 ff.) claims that formal grammar was needed only when the classical language began to be corrupted by the influence of non-Arabic speakers after the spread of Islam. Grammar and pedagogy went hand in hand and their goal was to preserve one specific linguistic variant (with a certain degree of variation allowed, cf. 1.7.1). Grammar had to preserve correct phonetics, morphology, syntax and semantics, and the most direct approach to this was

to take the surface forms and systematize them into a coherent descriptive account.

If Arabic is the best language, it also becomes a legitimate question to explain why Arabic should be this way, why it does in fact constitute a coherent formal system. This became the second major concern of grammar, beyond the descriptive account itself.

For two reasons I will mostly be concerned with the descriptive practice of the Arabic grammarians, rather than in their explanatory accounts ('uṣūl, note 8 above 1.3.3). First, the explanatory account presupposes a knowledge of the descriptive, and secondly the descriptive account is on the whole more familiar to western readers in its approach to linguistic theory.⁴⁷

In the light of these goals, it is not surprising that Arabic theory is for the most part non-universalist. Its stated aim was to concern itself only with Arabic, and despite the fact that many of the best linguists were non-native speakers of Arabic (Persian scholars are particularly important), there is very little attempt at comparative grammar.⁴⁸

1.6 Western linguistic principles

I will argue that many of the principles of Arabic grammatical practice are ones that are wholly familiar to the student of modern linguistics: dependency, substitution, structure, function and the importance of grammatical form as a basis for classifying items, to name but a few. However, as Obler (1980: 345) points out, one should not suppose that these principles necessarily were explicitly stated as such by the Arabic grammarians. Nowhere does one find, for example, a Bloomfieldian definition, "All forms having the same function constitute a form class" (Bloomfield 1927/1971: 29) or the like, though in fact this is a definition which the Arabic grammarians assumed.

The fact that a certain principle is often implicit rather than explicit, that it is apparent to the modern reader in the actual examples used rather than in an explicit statement of principle, does not make the methodology of the Arabic grammarians any less precise. It must be remembered that Arabic grammarians were concerned only with the Arabic language, and therefore the need for general definitions which might have to be applied to radically different languages was unnecessary. When Mubarrad (I: 3^{α 5}) says that anything which can be object of a preposition is a noun,

- (6) min zaydin "from Zayd"
 gen
 " hadhâ "from this"
 " illadhî gâma "from the one who got up"
 min- ka "from you"
 etc.

he succeeds in showing that **zaydin**, **hadhâ**, **'alladhî** and **-ka** are all nouns (despite their different morphological form, cf. Owens to appear), and he does so without having to tell the reader that what he has actually based his demonstration on is the notion of form class, which in return depends on the notions construction, function, and position (Bloomfield 1927/1971: 28, 29). Nonetheless, the modern linguist can appreciate that this is in fact what he is doing.

One might in fact consider a typology of correspondence between Arabic grammatical principles and western ones. On the one extreme one finds correspondences that are explicit in both traditions, the most important example of which is dependency (^camal) discussed in chapter 2. Secondly, one has Arabic practice that implicitly corresponds to modern linguistics principles, such as the notion of class. Thirdly there are cases where correspondences are tenuous, and here I should mention the important caveat that I do not want to bring in a discussion of modern linguistics at the expense of distorting Arabic theory. If I discuss at length the similarities between the Arabic notion of ^camal and the western one of dependency it is not because there is only a very general similarity between the two; nor is it because I want to enhance the historical pedigree of dependency grammar at the expense of constituency-based grammars (though this point is not irrelevant if one accepts my arguments in chapter 2). Rather, it is because there is a detailed, point by point similarity between the formal properties of ^camal in Arabic grammar and modern dependency practice. To ignore these similarities is to disavow ourselves of an important analogy in the interpretation of Arabic grammatical practice.

However, too blind a search for parallels at best leads to simplistic overgeneralizations, and at worst to distortions of the material being elucidated (Aarsleff 1970). For this reason I focus only on a few general modern grammatical concepts in orientating my discussion

(7a) indefinite suffix -n qhulâmu-n "a boy"
 -indef

- *'al-ghulâmun

- ghulâmu zaydin "the boy of Zayd"

*' al-ghulâmu zaydin

*ghulâmun zaydin

My discussion of the relevance of transformational-generative grammar in parts of chapters 6-9 to an understanding of Arabic theory will further define the limits to which comparisons can profitably be extended between the two systems.

While no change was countenanced in the proper Arabic language after the eighth century, Arabic linguists were well aware of language change and language diversity in the Arabic dialects that existed before this time (cf. Rabin 1951 for summary). Moreover, it should be remembered that one of the important impetuses in the development of Arabic grammar was the realization that Arabic of the 8th and 9th centuries was undergoing significant changes (cf. 1.5).

Indeed, the Prophet Moḥammad was reputed to have said that "the Qur'ān was revealed in seven dialects, all equally correct and adequate" (Ibn Jinnī Khaṣ II:

10).⁴⁹ Ibn Fâris has a fairly long discussion of some of the dialect differences in the early part of his book (pp. 26-40), noting various phonological and syntactic differences between the Arabic tribes. One of the most frequently cited dialect differences is that of the negative mâ. As tradition has it (though cf. Rabin 1951: 174 ff.) among the Tamîmî tribe this does not govern anything, serving simply as a sentence negator. Among the Hijâzî it serves as sentence negator by governing a nominative and accusative in the same way the verb laysa "be not" does (which indeed serves as the analogical pattern for the Hijâzî).

(8) mâ zaydun dharîf-un (Tamîmî)
neg Zayd nom kind-nom "Zayd is not kind".

mâ zaydun dharîf-an (Hijâzî)
acc "Zayd is not kind".

cf. laysa zaydun dharîfan
be not acc "Zayd is not kind".

(cf. Sîb I: 21, Mub IV: 188 ff., Ibn Kaysân 114, IS I: 106 ff., Sîrâfî 525, Zajjâjî Jumal: 105, Ibn Jinnî Luma^C 132, Saymarî 198, Baṭalyûsî 188, Zamakhsharî 30, Anbârî **Āsrār**: 143, Ibn Yâ^Cîsh I: 108, Ibn Hishâm QN: 142).

Ibn Jinnî (I: 380, cf. Mehiri 111, also Suyûṭî, Iq: 67, 68) discusses an interesting case of dialect mixture. He notes that there are two dialects with different vowel patterns for the verb "to express despair".

	Perfect	Imperfect
(9a)	<u>ganata</u>	<u>yaqniṭu</u>
b)	<u>qaniṭa</u>	<u>yaqnatu</u>

A third form then evolved,

c) ganata yaqnatu

which has the perfect of dialect (9a) and the imperfect of dialect (9b). Ibn Jinnî in particular (in his **Khaṣā'is** has a number of interesting examples of dialect variation, some of which are of theoretical importance for him (cf. Guillaume 1984: 394-407).

1.7.2 Language change?

The Arabic grammarians equally recognized change of certain types in the early dialects. I will give only two examples here, but call the reader's attention to Mehiri (92-126) who has a good introduction to the

topics of the origin of Arabic, dialects, and diachronic change as discussed by Ibn Jinnî (cf. also Blanc 1979: 166 ff. and Guillaume 1984: chapter 1).

Ibn Fâris (*Şâhibî*: 84-86) notes that various religious terms in Islam had quite different meanings in the pre-Islamic (*jâhiliyya*) period. For instance, *kafara* "be irreligious" originally meant "hide, cover" and *şiyâm* "fasting during holy month of Ramadân" simply had the meaning of "abstinence". In Islamic law these terms take on a much more precise meaning than they had in pre-Islamic times.⁵⁰

It was also widely, though not universally, accepted that Arabic had taken loan words from other languages, albeit that they had been Arabicized (cf. Kopf 1956: 42 ff., Stetkevych 1970: 157-160, Anwar 1983: 22).

A particularly interesting discussion on language change concerns the status of underlying phonological forms (Khaş I: 256 ff.). The form

(10a) *qâma* "he got up"

is derived by phonological rule from

(10b) *qawama* (cf. chapter 3 e.g. (15, 18, 19a))

The basic form (*'aşl*) is (10b), the derived (*far*^C⁵¹) (10a). Ibn Jinnî poses the question of how the terms *'aşl-far*^C are to be understood in this context, whether they are diachronic or synchronic.⁵² He notes that in this case the distinction is only synchronic. As Guillaume explains (1984: 345ff., esp. 350-355) *qawama* (10b) is a hypothetical construct justified by the logic of the phonological rules in the language but not a form ever pronounced, and not one necessarily that ever was used by anyone. Ibn Jinnî maintains this position in all his examples, even in citing the attested dialectal pairs,

(11a)	<i>shudd</i>	"be firm!"	(<i>far</i> ^C)	Tamîmî dialect
b)	<i>shadud</i>	"	(<i>'aşl</i>)	Ĥijâzî dialect

The phonological base form is the Ĥijâzî one. Here he maintains that both forms have always existed side by side and that one cannot attribute temporal priority to one or the other.

He gives various reasons why sometimes one base form might co-exist with a derived one, while in other cases it cannot though always within the context of synchronic grammar (cf. Blanc 1979: 167). He does,

however, envisage the possibility that synchronically forms reflect an earlier diachronic stage of the language, even if he rejects this position in the end.

1.8 Organization of grammars

As I noted in 1.1.2.3, the first grammarian on record to have written a grammar employing an immediately comprehensible organization is Sarrāj. The difference between his major work, 'Al-'Uṣūl fī l-Naḥw and that of his teacher Mubarrad's major work, 'Al-Muqtaḍab could not be more striking.⁵³ Mubarrad's first volume starts well enough with a definition of inflection ('i'crāb), which is the basis of syntactic analysis (cf. 2.3), then goes on to discuss the agent (a major part of the sentence) but in chapter 3 launches into a discussion of noun phrase coordination, then a students' exercise on agent and object (including interesting information on relativization), a chapter on a morphophonological problem, a lesson on how to pronounce the letters of a word if one wants to name them individually, then a few other odd topics before beginning a discussion of morphology (chapter 9, 10) which lasts almost to the end of volume one. Other volumes are similarly lacking in overall coherency though individual parts of them do cohere.

For Sarrāj there are basically two principles of organization.

(1) First, discuss the three word classes and define inflectable and non-inflectable (**mabnī**) words.

(2) Then discuss the major functional positions in the sentence in the following order:

- (a) nouns before verbs
- (b) inflectionally fixed over inflectionally varying functional categories (nouns before noun modifiers)
- (c) nominatively -marked positions before accusative before genitive
- (d) phonology and morphology (**taṣrif**) last⁵⁴

I can briefly mention how this works with (2c). Nominative functional positions include topic and comment of non-verbal sentences⁵⁵ (Ap. 2.1), agent of a verbal sentence (Ap 2.2.2) and deputy agent of a passive sentence (cf. 6.5). These are discussed before accusatively-marked nouns, which are realized in eight types of objects and "pseudo-objects" (cf. 6.1, 6.2, Ap 3): absolute, direct, circumstantial, reason, accompaniment, condition, specifier and exception. Finally the genitive is discussed, realized by objects of preposition and possessors (Ap 4)

The formal basis of this organization needs no discussion: case inflection and word class, which as will be seen in chapter 4 is formally defined for the most part, provide very neat starting points for the discussion of grammar.

Moreover, the general organization itself is ordered by certain theoretical precepts of Arabic grammar. For instance, in beginning with nominatively-marked items first one begins necessarily with the basic parts of the sentence, subject and predicate (cf. 2.1.1 and Ap 2), while accusatively and genitively-marked items are optional sentential elements. In describing nouns before verbs and nouns before noun modifiers, Sarrāj gives precedence to what are regarded as the unmarked members of the pair (nouns unmarked, verbs, modifiers marked; cf. chapter 8).

All subsequent grammars follow this scheme to a greater or lesser extent. Points that are invariable in all of them are the following:

- (a) word classification always first, phonology last,
- (b) nouns discussed before verbs, verbs before particles,
- (c) nominative before accusative, accusative before genitive,⁵⁶
- (d) agent before objects, object before object of preposition and this before modifiers.⁵⁷

Further regularities could be noted within the various sub-parts of the grammar, for example the five "true" objects are discussed before the three pseudo-objects.

There are some aspects of the descriptions which lack a regular order from grammarian to grammarian. For example, morphological attributes of the noun, number and gender, are discussed at the very end by Sarrāj, near the very beginning by Ibn Jinnī (late tenth century, *Luma*^C), after the modifiers by Zamakhsharī (early/mid twelfth), near the beginning by Anbārī (late twelfth, *Asrār*) and after definiteness in the sixteenth century linguist Kamāl Bāshā (somewhat after the functional positions). The only features which the placements of the nominal morphological features have in common is that they do occur either before or after discussion of the main functional positions in the sentence. Other topics which appear at varying places are the active and passive participles, definiteness, numerals, pronouns and demonstratives.

In general, however, the basis for organizing grammars reflects the formal bias that has pervaded Arabic linguistic analysis from its origins.

STRUCTURE, FUNCTION, CLASS and DEPENDENCY

2.1 Structure and function

The structural-functional analysis of grammar is closely associated with linguists such as Bloomfield and Firth, and is developed fairly explicitly in Halliday's (1960) scale and category grammar and its offshoot, systemic grammar, and in tagmemic grammar (Pike), Cook (1969).⁵⁸ The central idea in it is that grammar can be construed as a structure made up of various positions, with certain items occurring at these positions (Bloomfield 1937/1971: 28). A sentence, for example, might be analyzed as having three main positions, S(ubject), P(redicate) and O(bject), with nouns occurring at S and O and verbs at P. Under one conception of function (Tesnière 1959: 39) probably the most basic one (cf. Halliday and Martin 1981: 137 for further distinctions), the occurrence of verbs and nouns at a position, a place in structure, defines their function, their relation to other items in the sentence.

In Arabic theory the notion of structure and function is developed both explicitly and implicitly. Explicitly this is especially clear as regards phonology. The phonological structure of a word is described through the canonical shape $F^C L$ (fa^cala "do, make"), where a sound will be said to occur at F , c or L . For example, Mubarrad (I: 96) when discussing verbs whose medial sound is /y/ or /w/ introduces his chapter as follows. "This chapter considers verbs whose " c " is /w/ or /y/,"⁵⁹ i.e. the medial consonant is filled by /w/ or /y/. Allowing for the different treatment of syllabification in Arabic and modern grammar, this can be compared to an analysis of the syllable into C and V units, each being realized by different consonantal or vowel values in different positions. Both CV and $F^C L$ can be thought of as variable slots whose value is filled by a sound of a given class.

In syntax an overall canonical is not so prominent, though fundamentally it can be shown to operate here as well. Here the Arabic grammarians did not develop a single term for structure and function (cf. discussion in 2.1.2), though they did explicitly develop the idea of position in structure and the idea that various classes of items can be substituted for each other at these positions. In section 2.1.1 I will use the basic sentence positions, topic and comment in non-verbal sentences and verb-agent in verbal ones (the umda "prop" Suyūṭī HH I: 93, Wright 1965 I: 255) to show that a syntactic position is a construct independent of the items that realize that position.

2.1.1 Position and item realizing position

The basic syntactic unit of analysis is the sentence (cf. 2.2), which minimally is composed of two words which form a predication, either noun + noun or verb + noun. The two combinations form the basic sentence types in Arabic, nominal sentences being⁵⁹ composed of noun + noun and verbal ones of verb + noun.

The nominal sentence is composed of two parts, a topic mubtada' "beginning" and a comment,⁶⁰ khavar lit. "news, information", as in

- (1a) zaydun ṭawīlun "Zayd is tall". (Ap 2.1)
 Top Com

The verbal sentence (Ap 2.2) has two essential parts, an agent (fā'il "actor, agent, doer") and a verb (fi'l "action, doing").

- (1b) qāma zaydun "Zayd got up".
 verb Agent

Topic, agent, and comment (when a single noun) are in the nominative case. For the later grammarians, topic and comment and verb and agent form the essential, obligatory part of the sentence (Levin 1981, cf. 6.6).

Each of these positions has a typical filler which can be drawn from four classes of grammatical items: nouns, verbs, sentences or prepositional phrases.

It is relatively easy to demonstrate the independence of position from filler of position for the comment and agent. These are typically nouns.

- (2a) zaydun ṭawīlun "Zayd is tall".
 Top Com

- b) qāma zaydun "Zayd got up".
 verb Agent

However, the comment of a nominal sentence can also be a prepositional phrase, as in,

- or it can be a sentence.

- The entire sentence, **ḡarabtuḥu** "I hit him", which has the structure verb + agent + object, takes the position of comment (IS I: 67-71, Zamakhsharī 24; cf. e.g. (61) below for discussion).

- It is readily apparent that agent and comment cannot be identified solely with any one filler of the position and that agent and comment are names of positions, while noun, PP, and sentence are items which can occur at these positions.

The position of verb (fi^c1) is generally filled by a verb (fi^c1), past, present or future (according to the Basran, whose positions I generally follow; cf. 4.7).

- An example that shows "verb" to be the name of a position comes from a class of words known as "nominal verbs" (**ism fi 1**). These can be a single noun,

- (6a) ruwayda zaydan (Mub III: 202)
acc
"Take it easy Zayd".

or a preposition and its object.

- (6b) ^Calay-ka zaydan
on you zayd "You take Zayd".

The fact that the noun **ruwayda** in (6a) and the preposition + object, ^Calayka in (6b) are in the position of verb is demonstrated by the fact that they both govern the object **zaydan** in the accusative case. In the grammatical period covered here, the accusative is the case par excellence of verbal governance (Mubarrad IV: 299).

Mubarrad explains the nominal verb as a "noun put in the place of the verb and carrying its meaning and assuming the status of verb"^{α 8} (also IS I: 85 ff., 167 ff., ^CAsk: 86-87, QN: 258). This example establishes the independence of 'verb' as morphological category (word class). When the nominal verb takes the place of verb it does not thereby become a morphological verb, though it does assume certain syntactic properties of verbs, for example the ability to govern objects in the accusative.⁶²

Appendix I contains a summary of the important syntactic positions, with representative samples of the items which fill these positions. For purposes of the discussion in the remainder of this chapter it will be convenient to mention two more positions.

- (7a) Direct object, maf^Cul bihi
darabtu ghulāman "I hit a boy".
hit I boy acc
Verb Ag Obj
- (7b) Possessed and possessor (muḏāf, muḏāf 'ilayhi)
ghulāmu zayd-in "Zayd's boy"
gen
pssd pssr

2.1.2 Terminology of position

At this juncture it will be interesting to see whether the Arabic grammarians developed an explicit terminology for function and position in a structure. Following Carter (1973a: 147, 148) it will be useful to begin with Bloomfield's definition of function: "the positions in which a form occurs are its functions" (1927/1971: 29). Note that this definition depends on an independent characterization of the notion of 'position': "...each of the ordered units in a construction is a position" (Bloomfield 1927/1971: 28).

Versteegh (1978) has made an excellent survey of the terms for function and position used by the Arabic

grammarians, suggesting that the terms **mawḍi^c** "primary position" and **mawqī^c** "position"⁶³ are the nearest terms.

Western scholars have offered two interpretations of **mawḍi^c**. Weil (quoted in Versteegh 1978: 263) characterizes **mawḍi^c** as "...das genau abgegrenzte Gebiet (ḥadd) zu welchem die Wirkung einer Partikel oder eines regierenden Wortes reicht". That the syntactic positions have an importance independent of the items which realize them has been shown above. There are a number of syntactic positions, including verb, agent, topic and comment, which have an existence independent of the items which take up these positions. This point is especially clear among the later grammarians (from Sarrāj) who organize their grammars around such headings as **fā^cil** "agent", **mafā^cil** "objects", **mubtada'** "topic" and **khavar** "comment" (cf. 1.8) Zamakhsharī for example defines the direct object as "what experiences the action of an agent".⁶⁴ If the **mawḍi^c** of an item is a direct object, then the item takes on the class meaning associated with direct object. But this meaning exists independently of any item which realizes it.⁶⁴

Perhaps the most striking example of this "grammatical" meaning is found in Jurjānī. One of his major concerns (in his **Dalā'il**) was to show that in a sense words have no meaning until they are put in the context of sentences, as I will explain in 9.5. By sentential context he has in mind the grammatical context the word is placed in.

There is no organization in words until they are joined one to another...and having accepted this we realize that they have no status until, having chosen a noun, it is made an agent to a verb, or an object, or two words are joined and one of them is made comment to the other, or one is modified by the other, which is its adjective or emphasizer or permutative.. (Dal: 44)^{α 10}

Jurjānī uses none of the terms **mawḍi^c** or **mawqī^c** here, though perhaps more clearly than in any other medieval writer he distinguishes a filler of a position (an individual word) from the position it realizes.

On the other hand, Carter (1973a: 148) identifies **mawḍi^c** as "function" in the Bloomfieldian sense: "...Sibawaih intended the term **mawḍi^c** (lit. "place") to be understood as linguistic function...". He notes that when Sibawaih says **kam** "how many" has **mawḍi^cāni** "two positions", interrogative and predicative, he is summarizing the functions of **kam**.

Versteegh (1978: 273) compromises in saying that **mawḍiʿ** can be understood as "function" or "position". However, in a strict Bloomfieldian sense this will not work, since as seen above for Bloomfield "function" requires an independent notion of "position", and this distinction is not clear in medieval Arabic writing. Rather I think Versteegh's (1978: 274) observation is relevant; he notes that Arabic grammarians did not define these terms in a narrow technical way, and hence one cannot make a close identification between **mawḍiʿ** and "function" or "position" in the same way one can make a close correlation between **'iṣrāb** and dependency, the topic I discuss in 2.3.⁶⁵

2.2 Terms for sentence, **kalām** and **jumla**

Before moving on to dependency in Arabic syntactic theory, it will be useful to examine the status of the category "sentence" in Arabic practice. As I noted above at the beginning of 2.1.1, the basic unit of analysis is the sentence, though the terms for this unit are not completely fixed. In Sībawaih **kalām** simply denotes "speech" or "utterance", with no implications of a formal unit (Carter 1973a: 147). Thus, when Sībawaih defines the two essential parts of a sentence, **musnad** and **musnad 'ilayhi** (Sib I: 6; cf. 6.6) he does not say that together they form a **kalām** "sentence", or indeed that they form any other type of unit (Mosel 1975: 17 ff.).

In neither Mubarrad nor Sarrāj is there an explicitly defined term for sentence, though more often than not when they use the term **kalām** they are referring to an independent sentential unit with both form and meaning. For example, Mubarrad (II: 338) notes that verb agreement (feminine singular) properties can differ depending on whether the **kalām** is long or short (cf. 8.6.3 e.g. (24a) for further discussion). Here he can only be referring to the formal property of length. On the other hand, Sarrāj (I: 73) speaks of the sequence possibilities in a **kalām** when one has an indefinite topic in a negative sentence. Here **kalām** has both formal and semantic implications. Sarrāj also mentions that a complete sentence (**kalām/jumla**) is one which can be followed by silence though he does not develop this definition explicitly.^{α 11} This criterion would have to wait some time before it was added formally to the definition of **kalām** (cf. below on Ibn Hishām).

One of the earlier linguists to define **kalām/jumla** as formal units is Fārisī (ʿAsk: 81-95), though he does not distinguish the two: "This is the chapter about

what these three (word classes, i.e. noun, verb, particle, cf. chapter 4) compose, forming an independent sentence **kalām**), and this is what grammarians call 'sentences' (**jumal**, pl of **jumla**)" ^{Q 12} (cf. Ibn Jinnī Khaṣ I: 17 for nearly identical formulation). He distinguishes three sentence types (cf. note 243), nominal, verbal and prepositional, using the terms **jumla** and **kalām** interchangeably for them (though more often **jumla**) to refer to units composed of topic + comment, verb + agent, or topic + prepositional complement.

Implicit in Fārisī's characterization of **kalām** and **jumal** is a distinction between a unitary whole, **kalām** (singular form, cf. sg. agreement in **mustaqillan** Q 12, cf. Khaṣ I: 25) and a differentiated entity, the **jumal** (plural form). He does not formulate an explicit distinction between them, even though he discusses two examples where his terminology would seem to fail.

Both **kalām** and **jumla** are independent entities (cf. Q 12)⁶⁶ but Fārisī notes (ʿAsk:81 ff. cf. also IS II: 169) that in two cases a **jumla**, top + com or verb + agent cannot stand by itself. These are oaths (**qasam**) and conditional sentences, where the first sentence requires the presence of the second.

- (8) 'in tadhhab 'adhab (Fārisī, Id: 1095)
 if you-go (jus) I go(jus)
 V + Ag V + Ag "if you go I'll go".
 S₁(**jumla**) S₂ (**jumla**)

There are two **jumla**, but neither are independent entities -- the first is a dependent conditional clause and the second contains a verb in jussive form, a form which can never stand by itself as a complete sentence.

What seems to be called for is a distinction between "independent entity" and the predicative units which compose it, where the predicative elements do not necessarily add up to an independent entity (cf. below)

The value of **kalām** as an independent semantic entity is further evidence in Ibn Jinnī's opposition between **kalām** and **qawl** "utterance, locution" (Khaṣ I: 17): every **kalām** is a **qawl**, but the reverse does not hold. Unlike a **jumla**, moreover, a **qawl** can consist of anything from a single word like 'in "if", to an incomplete sentence like **kān** **'axūka** "your brother was...".

With Zamakhsharī (6) **kalām** is clearly identified with "sentence", a unit minimally composed of two words in a predicative relation (cf. 3.1.1). **Jumla**, however, remains undefined.

Ibn Hishām (ML 490 ff.) makes explicit the distinction implicit in Fārisī's use of **kalām** and **jumla** (cf. above). A **kalām** is "an informative, purposeful expression", while a **jumla** "is composed of a verb and noun...or topic and comment..."^{α 13} By "informative" is meant what signifies a meaning when bounded by silence.

Jumla then is clearly a formal grammatical unit which might be termed "predication", whereas **kalām** is an independent unit encompassing a semantic and grammatical component (and which came close to meaning "proposition" for some grammarians, cf. Elamrani-Jamal 1979). Ibn Hishām (ML 490 ff.) gives examples of a single **kalām** which contains a number of **jumal** (dependent sentences in this context).⁶⁷

The same distinction had been summarized succinctly 100 years before Ibn Hishām by Astarābādī (SK I: 8) "...every **kalām** is a predication (**jumla**), but the reverse does not hold." ^{α 14}

What is surprising is that it took so long to come to this explicit definition of **jumla** because in most grammatical works the term **jumla** is used in exactly the sense of Ibn Hishām's definition without it being clearly defined. Mubarrad (II: 67 = two parts of conditional sentence; IV 348 = dependent sentence serving as possessor, etc.), Ibn Kaysān (119 = **jumal**, non-verbal relative clause), Sarrāj (I: 70, 76 = main clause, II: 9, 30 = dependent sentence), Zajjājī (Iḍ: 119 = independent sentence), Ṣaymarī (100, 517 = dependent sentence), Fārisī (Iḍ: 223 = independent sentence), Jurjānī (Dal: 156), Baṭalyūṣī (144 = independent sentence), Ibn Ya'īsh (I: 20), Ibn Aqīl (I: 201 = sentence) (to give but a few examples) all use it in the sense of a unit, either dependent or independent, minimally composed of topic/comment or verb/agent, without giving it explicit definition.

2.3 Governance/dependency, ^CAmal

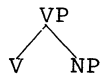
The delimitation of a number of syntactic positions does not in and of itself produce a coherent syntactic structure, for one must still account for how the positions are related to each other.

There are basically two ways this can be done, either in constituency or in dependency terms. In a dependency grammar items at different syntactic positions are related directly to each other in terms of a dependency relation, as one part directly related to another. I will outline this in more detail presently and show that Arabic grammar is based essentially on this method.

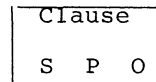
Within constituency two methods can be delimited. They both share the basic feature of relating items in terms of part-whole relations. In one, items are related in terms of phrase structure markers represented as tree. A verb and noun object, for instance, are related to each other by virtue of being included in a verb phrase. There is no direct part-part relation between verb and noun (cf. (9a)). I will discuss constituency further in 2.9.

In the second representation, items are related to each other by virtue of their occurring at positions included within a larger structure. For instance, in systemic grammar, subject, predicate and object are related to each other because they all realize features of a larger element, the clause (see (9b)). I discuss this briefly in 2.4.1.

(9a)



(9b)



2.3.1 The Arabic definition of dependency

In Arabic theory there is a governor (^Cāmil) and governed (^mamūl). The governor is said to govern (^Camila lit. "do, operate") the governed in some case or mode form (ⁱc-rāb). For the noun these forms are,

- (10) -u nominative (^Craf) rajul-un "a man"
 -a accusative (^ṣnaṣb) rajul-an
 -i genitive (^jjarr or ^ḥkhafḍ) rajul-in

For the verb only the imperfect verb shows mode inflection.

- (11) -u indicative (^Craf) yadhhab-u "he goes"
 -a subjunctive (^ṣnaṣb) yadhhab-a "that he goes"
 ∅ jussive (^jjazm) yadhhab "he go"

As the Arabic terms (in brackets) indicate, in Arabic theory no categorical distinction is drawn between the inflectional suffixes in the verb and those in the noun, so that ^Craf can mean either "nominative" or "indicative" depending on its context. This fact is not without its consequences in Arabic theory (cf. 2.4.4, 2.5, 8.6.1). However, I think for the sake of familiarity it is best to follow Wright in keeping the terminology distinct according to whether the inflectional suffix occurs on the noun or verb.

The importance of inflection to the study of grammar has already been noted in the introduction (1.8). Sarrāj's 'Al-'Uṣūl fī l-Naḥw, the first systematically organized grammar is ordered in terms of inflection, the syntactic

I translate 'i^crāb (and only 'i^crāb) as inflection. While this is correct in the sense that it opposes inflection to derivation and the variation for case and mode is clearly an inflectional process, it leaves other aspects of Arabic morphology outside the scope of inflection. Thus, singular-plural pairs, masculine-feminine, the person/number/gender affixes on the verb as well as the rich derivational morphology do not fall within the scope of inflection in this narrow sense. This is a point noted by Fleisch (1950). Inflection (= 'i^crāb) applies to a much smaller range of phenomena than do inflectional processes as normally understood in western linguistics. It will be seen in this chapter (2.11) and in the next that morphological structure is accounted for in Arabic theory in three components: inflection = 'i^crāb, case and mode markers, morphology (tasrif, chapter 3), and syntax (nahw, 2.7, 2.10).

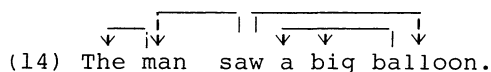
While Arabic syntactic theory is based on inflection, theory that developed from this basis has ramifications far beyond a simple account of inflectional form. To understand the nature of governance theory in Arabic theory I think it best to carry out an extended comparison with modern dependency grammar, a comparison which will clearly demonstrate that Arabic theory is essentially a type of dependency grammar (Tesnière 1959, Robinson 1970).

2.3.2 The western conception

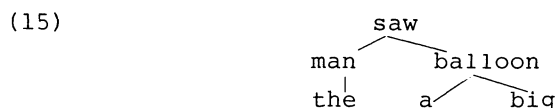
Robinson (1970: 260) gives four conditions for a well-formed dependency structure.

- (13a) one and only element is independent
 - b) all others depend on some element
 - c) no element depends directly on more than one other
 - d) if A depends directly on B, and some element C intervenes between them, then C depends directly on B or on A or on some intervening element (the effect of this is to require head (the item depended on, the governor) and dependent to occur next to each other)

A typical dependency structure can be illustrated as follows (arrows point from head to dependent).

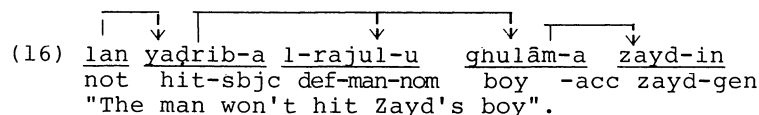


The subject and object noun depend on the verb, and the modifiers of the noun depend on the noun. In Tesnière this is represented as follows, where heads rest on top of dependents.



2.3.3 An initial comparison

A typical Arabic sentence has the following dependency structure:



If ^Cāmīl "governor" is equated with "head" and ma^Cmūl "governed" with "dependent", then one gets the following

analysis of the Arabic sentence, in modern dependency terms.⁶⁹ The negative future **lan**⁷⁰ governs the verb **yaḍriba** in the subjunctive, the verb **yaḍriba** governs the agent **l-rajulu** in the nominative and the object **ghulāma** in the accusative; **ghulāma** (possessed) governs **zaydin** in the genitive (cf. 9.2.2.2.5).

In (16) it can be seen that all of Robinson's conditions are met. The only independent item is **lan** (condition (13a)); all the items are in a dependency relation (13b); no element depends directly on more than one other (13c); and for (13d), where **ghulāma** (A) depends directly on **yaḍriba** (B), the intervening element **l-rajulu** (C) does indeed depend on **yaḍriba**, as stipulated in Robinson's (13d).

The examination of one structure does not prove that Arabic and modern dependency grammar are based on the same principles, though it does create a strong *prima facie* case, and except for the modifiers, discussed in more detail in 5.3.2, I think that the principles are indeed very close.

Indeed, this point is confirmed by closer examination of general principles of Arabic grammatical analysis. I think that the following discussion, more than any other in the book, will confirm that Arabic grammatical theory is based on clearly articulated structural principles.

2.3.4 Detailed comparison

2.3.4.1 One governor per item

The third condition, (13c) is stated as one of the principles of syntactic analysis by the Arabic grammarians. Two illustrations of this point can be given, both of them involving somewhat complex examples (cf. also Mub IV: 225,226, Khaṣ II: 387, In 48, 52, As: 29, ML: 616, 728).

2.3.4.1.1 Sarrāj

The first is due to Sarrāj (II: 39, 40). In the example,

- (17) fawqa l-dāri rajulun wa qad ji'tuka bi-
top def house man and come I you with
rajulin ākharā ^cāqilayni muslimayni (IS II: 40
man other smart 2 2

"There is a man on top of the house, and I have brought you another man, (both) intelligent Muslims".

the key question is what the governor of ^Cāqilayni muslimayni is, for which two alternatives are given.

(1) It is a condition (ḥāl, Ap 3.2.1), a sentence constituent which describes the state or condition in which an action occurs. I use Sarrāj's own summary of this construction (IS I: 261).

(a) The condition is usually governed by a verb; exceptionally it can be governed by an assumed (muḍmar) verb. In

(18) fīhā rajulun qā'iman
in it man standing acc "There is a man standing in it"

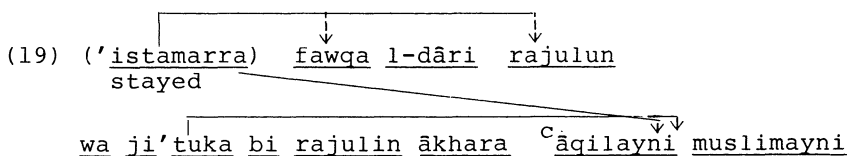
qā'iman is governed by an understood verb, 'istamarra (cf. e. g. (1) in 1.1.2.3 above).

(b) The ḥāl, condition describes either the agent or object (including prepositional object) noun in the sentence, acting as a type of second predicate (khavar) to them. In (18) qā'iman describes rajulun. There can be cases where a single ḥāl, condition constituent, describes two different nouns, both agent and object (cf. Ap. 3.2.1).

In (17) ^Cāqilayni muslimayni describes the two nouns rajulun...rajulin ākhara.

(c) The governor of the condition is the same as the governor of the noun which the condition describes.

(d) Since ^Cāqilayni muslimayni is a condition (ḥāl) describing the two nouns rajulun...rajulin ākhara, its governor must be (1) the same governor as that of rajulun, which is an understood governor, the verb 'istamarra (cf. 7.2.3), and (2) the governor of rajulin ākhara which is the verb jā' "come". The relevant governance relations would be as follows.



This analysis, however, leads to a situation where ^Cāqilayni muslimayni has two governors ('istamarra, jā'a), and this in principle is not allowed:

One cannot analyze this as an accusative condition because of the two different governors; it is not permitted to have two governors governing a single item. (IS II: 39, 40)^{α 17}

out that this principle is not often discussed, and when it is it involves what are rather complex syntactic questions. However, I think its relative rarity means not that it is an unimportant principle, but rather that it is such a basic one that it does not need repeating and in simple structures the analysis is so obvious that it does not need to be brought into the discussion.

Moreover, without such a principle implicit in all syntactic analyses one would be hard put to explain why, in all the hundreds of syntactic structures analyzed by the Arabic grammarians, none involve multiply-headed structures.⁷²

2.3.4.2 Governor and governed adjacent (condition 13d)

A second principle that is explicitly developed by Arabic grammarians is (13d). Sarrāj (also Zajjājī *Jumal*: 45) discusses the examples,

- (22a) kāna zaydun ākilan ṭa^cāmaka
 was zayd eating acc food yours
 "Zayd was eating your food".
- b) *ākilan kāna zaydun ṭa^cāmaka (IS I: 102)
 B C A

(22a) is a well-formed structure in both Arabic and modern dependency practice. (22b), however, is disallowed by condition (13d) of Robinson's formulation. **Ākilan**, the governor of **ṭa^cāmaka** is separated from its dependent by **kāna**, and **kāna** does not depend on **ākilan** or **ṭa^cāmaka**, or on any other intervening item.

Sarrāj also disallows (22b) because "...you separated **ākilan** from its dependent by another governor" (i.e. **kāna**).^{α 19}

Perhaps even more explicit is his refusal to sanction (23).

- (23) *kānat zaydan il-hummā ta'khudhuhu (I: 152)
 was-f acc def-fever taking
 B C A
 "The fever had affected Zayd".

where **zaydan** depends on neither (A) nor (B) nor on any other intervening item.

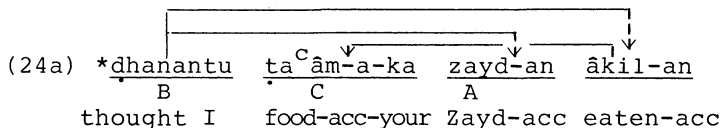
This example is particularly interesting for the language he uses to explain the restriction: "...the

separation between the governor and the governed by something not related to either is disliked" (IS II: 152).^{α 20} That is, here he explicitly states that the intervening item (**zaydan** = C) must be related to either (A) or (B).

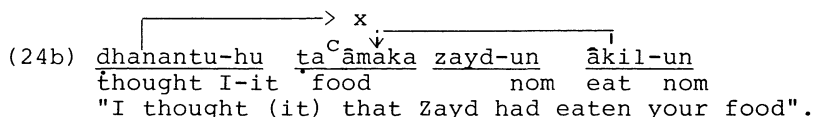
I have taken Sarrāj's statement, **ma laysa minhu** lit. "what is not of it" to mean "what is related to neither A or B". By relation I mean, and I think Sarrāj means, dependency relation.

This is a plausible interpretation, though Sarrāj does not elaborate on it enough to make it fully clear.

Sarrāj's intentions are, however, clarified later in his discussion (I: 217 ff.) when he considers the following examples, represented with their dependency structures.



(24a) is precisely analogous to (23), except that rather than **kāna** the main verb is **ḏhanna**, a verb which governs two accusative complements (cf. (39) below and 6.1.1, e.g. (2)). Sarrāj points out that (24a) is disallowed on the same grounds that (23) is. He also, however, draws attention to a related construction represented in (24b).



This is acceptable. The construction involves what Carter (1973a) calls "interruption of grammatical effect". I discuss it further in 2.3.4.3. For now the important points are the following.

(1) In this construction the governing effect of **ḏhanna** on its complements **zaydun/ākilun** is cancelled.

(2) If this happens the 'former' dependents of **ḏhanna** take on nominative form, as they would in the basic nominal type of sentence (cf. e.g. (1) above, Ap 2.1).

(3) A sentence like (24b) becomes correct because **ṭa^Cāmaka**, object of **ākilan**, does not intervene between two items in a governance relation since **ḏhanna** is no longer a governor.

To reinforce this point, I think it appropriate to look at what Mubarrad, Sarrāj's mentor, had to say about similar examples (Mub IV: 156).⁷³

(25) *kānat zaydan_{acc} iḷ-hummâ ta'khudhu
B C mā laysa minhu A

(26a)

	↓		↓	↓	S	
C	<u>abda</u>	<u>llâhi</u>	<u>jāratuka</u>	' <u>abūhā</u>	<u>dāribun</u>	
A			neighbor your	father her	hit	
		C		(C)	B	

"As for Abdalla, your neighbor, her father hit him".

(26b)

```
graph TD; S1[S] --- Topic[Topic]; S1 --- Comment1[Comment]; Topic -.-> jaratuka[jāratuka]; Comment1 --- S2[S]; S2 --- Top[Top]; S2 --- Comment2[Comment]; Top -.-> abuha['abūha dārībun']; Comment2 -.-> cabda["cabda llāhi"]; style jaratuka stroke-width:2px; style abuha stroke-width:2px; style cabda stroke-width:2px;
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jāratuka 'abūha dārībun cabda llāhi

For Mubarrad (IV: 12, 126, unlike the standard Basran view, cf. 2.3.5) the topic is governed by the fact that it is first, and the topic in turn, along with the fact of beginning ('ibtidā'), governs the comment. In (26) the main structure is a topic-comment sentence; *jāratuka* = topic with a sentential complement, *'abūka dāribun 'abda llāhi*. This in turn has a topic,

abūhā governing a comment, **dāribun**, an active participle which governs an object, **ʿabda llāhi** in the accusative.

The question for modern dependency grammar, and the question for Arabic linguists, is whether **dāribun** (=B) can govern **ʿabda llāhi**(A), when **ʿabda llāhi** has been fronted before the intervening items, **ʿabūhā** and **jāratuka**(=C); cf. (26a)

By (13d) this would not be allowed since the items C do not depend on **ʿabda llāhi** or on **dāribun**. However, as far as the Arabic linguists go I have suggested that this is not exactly the condition intended when they say **mimmā laysa minhu** (lit.) "what is not of the adjacent item" (C). Rather I have suggested that they mean what is not related to the adjacent items, A, B, where the relation can be either as governed (C) to governor (A or B) or the reverse, governor (C) to governed (A/B). In (13d) only the first condition is allowed--the intervening item C must be a dependent of A or B, not a governor; in Arabic theory I claim it can be either a dependent of A/B or a governor of them.

Mubarrad notes that sentences like (26) are open to dispute. Some linguists, he says, do not allow (26) because **ʿabda llāhi** is too far from its governor, a point endorsed incidentally by Sarrāj (II: 254). However, this he says is an incorrect interpretation; structurally there is nothing wrong with (26).

I believe Mubarrad is consistent. **Jāratuka** is indeed related to **dāribun**, serving as topic to the unit **ʿabūhā dāribun ʿabda llāhi**. As for **ʿabūhā**, it plus **dāribun** form S (top + com) and as will be seen in 2.9.2, elements of an S make a single constituent. **ʿAbūhā** does not intervene before **dāribun** because it forms a single unit with it.

At the same time the structural facts of (26) are different from (25) where **zaydan** has no relation at all to **kānat** or to **ʿal-ḥummā**, so here Mubarrad can invoke the principle "what has no relation to its adjacent items".

It may even be that the Arabic formulation of adjacency is actually superior to the western (13d), since the intervening item, C, can be either governor or governed. This more liberal interpretation of adjacency is apparently needed to account for the data which the Arabic grammarians dealt with, though it does not do so at the expense of allowing structures which all linguists held to be incorrect, those of the type in (23 - 25).

Jurjānī (Muqt: 425, 426) discusses the same example (as well as different ones (Muqt: 434, 435)), introducing the concept of "foreign" element (*'ajnabī*). This is a term used as early as Sībawaih to denote any lack of semantic bond between two items (Carter 1985), though for Jurjānī it has a more particular meaning, essentially that which Mubarrad and Sarrāj intend by "what is not related to either of the adjacent items" (cf. also n. 74).

(27) **kānat zaydan l-ḥummā ta'khudhu* (Muq: 425)

zaydan is the foreign element, one not related to either *kānat* or *'al-ḥummā*, and "you cannot separate a governor and a governed with a foreign element" (426).²¹

The notion of *'ajnabī* is exactly comparable to the "C" in (13d), where C is an item intervening between two items in a dependency relation, but related to neither of them.^{74 75}

Discussion of examples like (27) continued for a number of centuries, and Baṭalyūṣī (170-173) gives the constraint for (27) in different terms, making it one particular to the construction under consideration. His formulation is that "one cannot separate *kāna* from its noun by something that it does not govern".²² He argues, I think correctly, that this is the constraint Sībawaih, who was the first to discuss the examples (Sīb I: 27), intended.

In

(28) **kāna ta'āmaka zaydun ākilan*
 was food Zayd eating
 ism khabar

ta'āmaka separates *kāna* from its noun, *zaydun*, but it is not governed by *kāna*.

The reason that Baṭalyūṣī changes the nature of the constraint, making it specific to constructions with the verb *kāna* "b", is that Sarrāj's (and Mubarrad's, Jurjānī's) formulation⁷⁶ would disallow (29) since *zaydun* has no relation to A or B.

(29) *ta'āmaka kāna zaydun ākilan*
 food was Zayd eating
 A C B

"Your food was what Zayd was eating".

This is in fact correct. In Baṭalyūsī's summary, however, (29) is allowed because *ta'amaka* does not come between *kāna* and *zaydun* (the noun of *kāna*).

Baṭalyūsī claims that his formulation is the same as Sarrāj's though at least as far as Sarrāj's 'Uṣūl and Mūjaz go I find this wrong. I have translated the only two places Sarrāj formulates explicit constraints to disallow (28), and neither of them are like Baṭalyūsī's, neither mentioning a specific constraint between *kāna* and its noun (*ism*). Indeed, Sarrāj's second quote (p. 52 Q 20) is phrased in entirely general terms, using governor and governed, and so is Jurjānī's account of the foreign element.

What I would argue is that Sarrāj, following Mubarrad (IV: 99, 156), and Jurjānī were attempting to formulate a general principle on the contiguity of items in a dependency relation, and in this respect were going beyond Sībawaih, on whom they based their particular example. Baṭalyūsī noting the shortcomings of this account returned to Sībawaih's original formulation.

It can be noted that (29) above disobeys not only Sarrāj's and Jurjānī's constraint on adjacency of head and dependent, but also condition (13d), as can be seen by inspection of the labeled items. In general left dislocated items in a language like English or Arabic are susceptible to violation of (13d).⁷⁷

(30) Your food she made the man eat^{78 79}
 A C B

2.3.4.3 The exception that proves the rule

The Arabic grammarians say little explicit about condition (13b), though both Mubarrad (IV: 80) and Zajjājī (Id: 78) do state that "every governed item requires a governor". However, this comes in a context which does not provide a good illustration of condition (13b) (cf. note 94 below).

There is though one phenomenon alluded to in the description of e.g. (24), which I think does tend to suggest that it was an important principle of analysis. This phenomenon concerns 'ilghā' "interruption" of grammatical effect" (cf. Carter 1973a: 156). Sarrāj (II: 267; also Zubaydī KW: 234, *Luma*: 137, Ṣaymarī 113, QN: 173) defines this as follows, "Interruption of grammatical effect ('ilghā') when you use a word that is not in a governable position, though it is

Related to sentence like (30b) are (30a).

- b) zaydan dhanantu muntaligan
acc acc
"Zayd I thought leaving".

(31) zaydun muntaliquun fī dhannī (II: 280)
 leaving in thought-my
 "Zayd was leaving, as I think".

It would appear that Sarrâj understands by "not a governable position" a position relative to a specific governor, namely the one whose grammatical effect has been neutralized. It does not necessarily mean an item which is not in a governance relation though it can be this; cf. his interpretation of *faṣl* (267), since once an item has had one governor neutralized it apparently can then form another governance relation, as when *zaydun...munṭaliquṇ* assumes a topic-neutral relation.

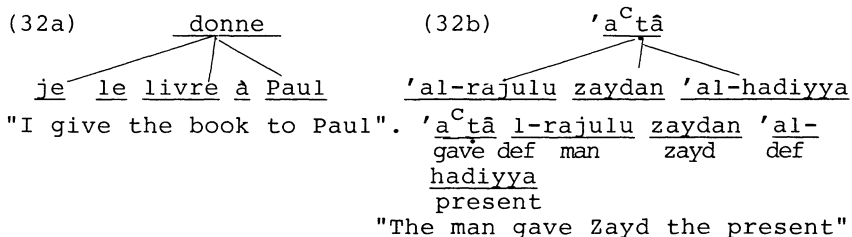
There are thus exceptions to (13b) because there are items that lose their normal governance properties. However, the contexts in which they occur are quite limited, and indeed they form such a circumscribed class that the phenomenon has its own name, '*ilghā*'. The basis on which this is defined is, implicitly, the opposite and more usual situation, that of governance.

2.3.5 Three further observations

I think by now enough evidence has been presented demonstrating the specific, point by point congruencies between dependency as defined by Robinson and the structural implications which the Arabic grammarians drew from their basic definition of governance, ^Camal. To further bolster the point that the Arabic grammarians were operating within a dependency framework, parallels can be noted with other aspects of dependency grammar covering points not necessarily made, or not made explicitly, by Robinson.

2.3.5.1 Governor-governed: a one-many relation

First, the conditions of (13) allow a one-many relation between governor and governed, and typically one finds a single item governing more than one dependent. In Tesnière (1959) for instance a verb can govern up to three actant(subject and objects, cf. (32a)). Precisely the same situation obtains in the Arabic model as well, with, for example, a verb governing one subject and up to three objects (32b).



2.3.5.2 Dependency is unidirectional

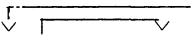
Secondly it can be noted that an implicit condition of (13) is that governance relations are unidirectional, from governor to governed. There are no bilateral relations where items govern each other (this follows from (13a, c). This point was explicitly recognized by the Basran school (Zajjâjî Id: 140, In: 44 ff.). In the topic-comment construction,

(32) zaydun tawîlun "Zayd is tall"

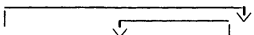
the Kufans (Farrâ' according to Batalyûsî, 149) argued that the topic and comment governed each other in the nominative. The Basrans argued against this by noting (inter alia) that governors tend to precede the items they govern (cf. 2.3.5.3). But if this is the case (a point that Anbârî seems to suggest the Kufans

accepted). Then if the topic and comment govern each other they would have to precede each other, which of course is impossible.⁸⁰

Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣ I: 347, also Zajjājī Id: 140-141) offers a potential counterexample to this point (though cf. n. 81 below). The point he is making is actually about sequence and governance (cf. below) but it equally illustrates the point at hand.

- (33)  'ayyahum tadrib yaqum zaydun
 which them hit get up Zayd
 "Whichever of them you hit, Zayd will get up".

'ayyahun is governed as a direct object of tadrib, but 'ayya "whichever" in turn governs the verb in the jussive. This seems to contradict (13) since one has mutual governance. However, this turns out not to be the case. The true governor of the jussive verb is not 'ayya, but rather the understood conditional particle 'in "if" a point that will be clarified in 8.6.4. Thus, rather than (33), one actually has,

- (34)  ('in) 'ayyahum tadrib yaqum zaydun
 (if)

There is no bilateral governance.⁸¹

2.3.4.3 Sequence generalization

Finally a point of similarity between modern dependency grammar and Arabic practice is in terms of sequence relations. Tesnière (1959: 32ff; Robinson does not treat this) explained sequence in terms of head-dependent relations where languages tend to have either head-dependent or dependent-head orders. Classical Arabic, for instance, is head-dependent.

- (35) Head Dependent
 verb subject, object
 preposition object
 noun adjective

In Arabic theory it was held that the unmarked sequence was governor-governed (IS I: 108, Zajjājī Id:140, Fārisī 'Aq: 214, Ibn Jinnī Khaṣ I: 298, Baṭ 148, 149, Anbārī In: 48, Ibn Ya'īsh I: 74, Astarābādī SK: 23, Ibn Hishām ML: 799, 885, Qazwīnī 114).^{α 24} Thus in the previous point it was seen that (1) the head-dependent sequence is the unmarked one and so (2) the Kufans

contradict themselves when they say that topic and comment govern each other, since they cannot precede each other.

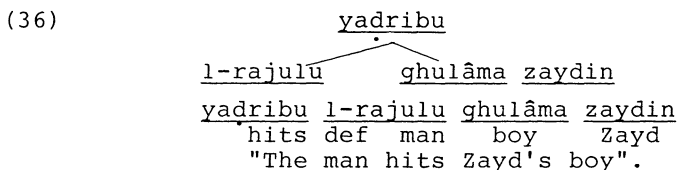
There are conditions under which the unmarked sequence can be violated (cf. IS II: 131-295 and 8.7 below), and the head-dependent generalization was by no means the only one used by Arabic grammarians (e.g. Jurjānī, Sakkākī 236) to explain sequence, as will be shown in 9.5 ff. below.

2.3.6 Differences

Similarities between modern dependency grammar and Arabic theory on the whole outweigh the differences, though the differences should not be ignored.

2.3.6.1 The independent item

One obvious one is the status of the initial independent element (13a). In most dependency grammar (Tesnière 1959, Hays 1965, Robinson 1970, Hudson 1984, though cf. Owens 1985b for alternative view) the verb is considered the head of a sentence. In Arabic theory the initial item can be a particle, as in (16) above, or, more frequently, a verb, as in (36).



The Arabic system of governance is based on form (cf. (10, 11)) and so if a verb is governed by a particle (16) there is no way in which the verb can be considered the initial, independent element of a sentence.

No theoretical significance is attached to Robinson's first point in Arabic theory; that is, I have found no stipulation, explicit or implicit, stating that there can be only one independent item. Even so, condition (13a) is adhered to in Arabic theory, as indeed it must be if the other conditions, (13b-d) are not to be violated. For instance, if there was more than one independent element then either there would be an item not in a dependency relation at all and hence not integrated into the overall structure of the sentence (cf. 2.3.4.3 for the single exception), or if it were in a governance relation it would need to govern an item which was also governed by another item, in violation

of (13c), which as seen in 2.3.4.1 also holds as a condition of Arabic theory.

However, there is a difference between the two approaches in regards to what the initial item is. Among the Basrans there is the contention that there can be an understood governor in the case of non-verbal sentences, such as

- (37) zaydun muntaliqun (Ap 2.1)
 Top Com "Zayd is leaving".

The main Basran view was that the governor of the topic (zaydun) was the fact of its being initial ('ibtidā'an), and that the governor of the comment, muntaliqun is also the fact of beginning, governing through (bi-wāsitati) the topic. (this is Anbārī's summary In: 46, #5; also Şaymarī 100).⁸²

- (38a) 'ibtidā'
 top(---) com
- (38b) 'ibtidā'
zaydun(---)muntaliqun

The basis of this analysis rests on a parallel drawn with three other types of topic-comment sentences (cf. 9.2.2.2.4 for discussion). Sentences with kāna "be", dhanna "think" and 'inna "emphasis particle" are said to enter into (IS I: 93) a non-verbal topic-comment sentence like that in (37) and change the governance relations. Kāna governs the ism (noun = topic of the non-verbal sentence) in the nominative and the comment in the accusative, and 'inna governs the noun in the accusative and comment in the nominative. These three structures can be diagrammed as follows.

- (39a) kāna b) dhanna c) 'inna
zaydun muntaliqun zaydan muntaliqun zaydan muntaliqun
 "Zayd is leaving". "He thought Zayd leaving". "Indeed Zayd is leaving".

Comparing (38) to (39) one can see that the postulation of an understood governor in the case of the topic-comment construction (37, 38) rests on the notion of class (2.7), where the non-overt governor of (38) forms a commutation class with the overt governors of (39), kāna, dhanna and 'inna.

There are thus three types of initial governors in a sentence: verbs (kāna, dhanna, yaḍribu, 'aṭā) (39a, b, 36, 32b), particles (lan, 'inna, (16, 39c)), and a non-overt governor ('ibtidā', (38)).⁸³

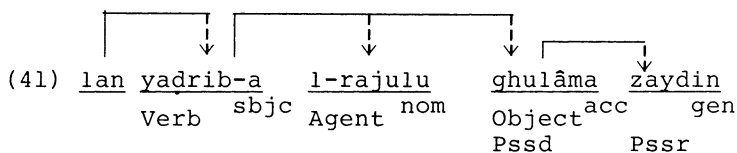
The reason for this I think lies in the importance of surface inflectional form in Arabic theory, a point discussed further in chapters 8 and 9.

2.4 Six explanations for Case Form

The interpretation that I have given to case form, as being due to the effects of a governor, was not the only explanation for case form, though I think in the final analysis it is the most basic one.⁸⁵ Thus, as I noted, from Sarrâj to Ibn Hishâm and even in modern Arabic linguistic practice (Râjihî 1975: 16) the definition of a governed item is an item which changes its form according to the change of governor. There are, however, five further explanations that are relevant.

2.4.1 Governance by syntactic position

Returning to the examples in (7) and (16), each item in the sentence is not only in a dependency relation, but also has a specific functional position.



"The man won't hit Zayd's boy".

Al-rajulu is not only governed in the nominative, it is also agent; **ghulâma** is governed by the verb in the accusative and it is object, and so on. An obvious question to pose is why couldn't one dispense with the whole idea of governance and simply explain the different case forms as being due to the influence of the different functional positions? **Ghulâma** in (41) for instance is accusative because it is object, not because it is governed by the verb. This is essentially the method that could be followed in systemic grammar (cf. (9b)). It also is very close to how Versteegh (1983: 184) interprets the Arabic grammarians' explanation for case form: "(grammatical) meanings produce or cause the (inflectional) signs" (cf. discussion Corriente 89 ff.).

In informal descriptive terms, such an explanation is indeed frequently used, particularly among the later grammarians. Astarâbâdhî (SK I: 298-299) says for instance when discussing whether or not particular grammatical functions are included in the definition given of the term **tawâbi**^c "modifiers",

... these items are excluded (i.e. from the definition) because the topic is put in the nominative case due to its being topic and the comment because of its being comment ... and the first of the two objects in **darabtu**

zaydan qā'iman ("I hit Zayd standing") is made accusative because of its being the direct object and the second is accusative by virtue of its being condition (**ḥāl**)...^{α 25}

From this description it would appear that an item's occurring in a functional position is a sufficient condition for its having a particular case form (cf. Ibn Maḍā 130, 131).

However, the formal question of whether case form could be explained as being due to a governor, vs. occurrence in a functional position was rarely seriously posed.

One possible example of this idea is raised by Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣ I: 109). In discussing why **zaydan** in,

(42) darabtu zaydan "I hit Zayd".

is in the accusative case, he suggests that the accusative results from the fact that **zaydan** is direct object (**maf^cūl bihi**, cf. 6.1), not because it is governed by the form **ḍ r b**, where by "form" here he means phonetic form (**lafḍh** or **ṣawt** "sound"). Could it be that he is saying that the accusative results from a functional status (object) rather than by the governance of a verb?

I think not. I think he is not opposing governance by function to governance by governing item here, but rather is opposing governance by pure phonetic form devoid of meaning to governance by morpholexical form (i.e. form/meaning unit), where he argues that governance is due to the morpholexical form, not to the purely phonetic form. He is saying that the phonetic form **ḍ r b** cannot be said to be the governor, since these are consonants devoid of any meaning. One can speak of governance only when these are associated with a lexical and morphological value. It can be noted that elsewhere (e.g. Khaṣ II: 274, 276) he speaks of a verb governing the object (**faḍalāt**) in the accusative.

Anbārī (In: 557, #75) brings out the connection between the object (**maf^cūl bihi**), meaning and governance by the verb when he argues that an object is governed not by its status as an object but by a verb.

"You could say that **zaydan** in "**'akramtu zaydan**" ("I honored Zayd-acc.") is not governed in the accusative by the verb, but rather by its status as object, but this is impossible because its being an object is dependent on the verb **'akrama** governing it in the accusative... the accusative

in 'akramtu zaydun is due to the fact that the action of the verb falls on **zayd**.^{α 26}

That is, he accepts that the object has a semantic value (cf. Q 9 for Zamakhsharī in 2.1.2 and cf. 6.1.2, 9.2.1), that of receiving the action of the verb, and that this semantic meaning is paralleled by the grammatical relation of governance: the action goes onto the object in the same way the verb governs the object.

Anbārī considers the question of what governs the object (In: 79-82 # 11, also Suyūṭī HH I: 165) elsewhere and specifically rejects a Kufan argument that the fact of being object (**maf'ūliyya**) governs the object. He says that if this is the case then in passive verbs where the object becomes subject (cf. 6.6) one would expect the form of the derived agent to be accusative, since the meaning is still the meaning it has as object.

(43) ḍuriba *zayd-an/ zayd-un
 be hit acc nom "Zayd was hit".

This does not happen, however. Rather it takes the nominative case characteristic of an agent. In (43) **zaydun** has the semantic value of object (**maf'ūliyya**), but this is not a sufficient property to guarantee accusative form. Instead the verb governs **zaydun** in the nominative in the same way it governs an agent.⁸⁶

Further, when 'Astarābādhī (quoted at length in Q 31, p. 65) offers an explicit explanation for case form it is in terms of governor and governed (SK I: 21), as will be discussed in 2.4.5.

It thus appears that there was no opposition between functional position and governance: the two complement each other, the positions being connected to each other through governance relations.

2.4.2 Obligatory occurrence

A further explanation was offered for case forms. It was observed that items in the accusative are optional and those in the nominative are obligatory. This led to the distinction between two parts of the sentence, the subject/agent and predicate on the one hand (=nominative form) as opposed to the objects on the other (= accusative, IS I: 83). The former became known as the **umda** (Suyūṭī HH I: 93) and the relation between obligatory subject and predicate (either verbal or non-verbal) as '**isnād** (cf. 6.6.1). The latter were termed **fadalāt** "leftovers, optional items". Thus in,

- (44) ḍarabtu (zaydan)
acc "I hit (Zayd)".

the verb ḍaraba and agent -tu are obligatory, while the accusative object zaydan is optional (cf. 6.3).

Ibn Jinnī observing these facts proposes that the explanation for the form of the nominative agent is that of 'isnād, its obligatorily occurring with a predicate (Khaṣ I: 184-185) while the reason for the accusative form of the objects is the fact that they are optional (faḍla; Khaṣ I: 196).

However, he does not deny that there are other factors involved, in particular the governing effect of the verb. In fact, in regards the nominative agent he argues that either of two reasons adequately explains its form (Khaṣ I: 173):⁸⁷

- (1) the agent is nominative because it is governed by a verb; or
- (2) the agent is nominative because it is in a predicative ('isnād) relation with the verb.

In discussing the form of the direct object (I: 196) he says that one can say either,

- (1) it is accusative because it is direct object; or
- (2) it is accusative because it is optional.

He suggests that (2) is the more general answer because while all direct objects are optional, not all optional objects are direct objects, since there are circumstantial objects for example (6.2, Ap 3.1.3) which are accusative. That is, (2) is a sufficient reason to explain the form, and (1) is simply an additional reason, which, however, is not entirely irrelevant.

While Ibn Jinnī's explanation would seem to downplay the governing function of the verb in the case of accusative complements, in fact in other ways the verb as governor of accusative took on special significance. Zajjājī (Id: 64, 135) elaborates the generalization that the accusative form is due either to the governance of the verb, or what resembles the verb (Mub IV:299, Ibn Kaysān 110 for earlier discussion; cf. 7.8). This is illustrated in the following series.

- (45a) ḍaraba zaydan "He hit Zayd".
acc
- b) huwa ḍāribun zaydan "He will hit (AP form) Zayd"
hitting acc
- c) 'inna zaydan qā'imun (cf. e.g. (39c))
indeed acc nom "Indeed Zayd is standing"

In (45a) there is a verb governing an object; in (45b) the active participle, which is derived from the verb (cf. 4.8) governs the accusative, and in (45c) there is an emphasizing particle, *'inna*, which governs the noun in the accusative, just as a verb governs an accusative noun. Zajjāfi notes that this is due to its similarity to the verb in that *'inna* has two complements just like a transitive verb does.^{α 27} He says that there are more similarities, but does not give them, though for our purposes the point is that verb as governor of the accusative takes on a central, explanatory role for all accusative forms.⁸⁸

Astarābādhi (SK I: 23) resolves the two perspectives, determination of case form by optionality or by governing word, in the following way: "The governor of a noun is that through which the meaning appropriate to the inflection is arrived at ..."^{α 28} By "meaning" in this instance he understands *inter alia* the *faḍla*, the meaning of optionality that resides in the optional accusative complements (also, the meanings implied in possession (*iḍāfa*) and the predicative elements of a sentence, the *umda*). That is, the syntactic governor governing in the accusative is the means by which the items collectively known as optional items (*faḍalāt*) realize this meaning. The conflict is resolved into two levels, syntactic and semantic, the governor the means, the fact of optionality the semantic ends which it achieves. As with the functional explanation for governance in 2.4.1, no opposition is seen between explaining inflectional form in terms of governance and in terms of obligatory /optional occurrence.

2.4.3 By referential non-identity

An attractive explanation for the accusative form was developed by Sibawaih. It is summarized in Carter (1972a): the accusative indicates referential non-identity (and the nominative, by implication, referential identity).⁸⁹

- (46a) zaydun ṣāḥib- u - ka
friend-nom-your "Zayd is your friend".
- b) zaydun khalf- a - ka
behind-acc-you "Zayd is behind you".
- c) ^ciṣhrūna dirham-an
20 acc "twenty dirhams"

In (46a) Zayd is the same entity as *ṣāḥibuka*, and both are in the nominative case. In (46b) Zayd is distinct from *khalf* and hence *khalf* takes accusative form just as in (46c) *dirhaman* is in the accusative because it is distinct from *iṣhrūna*. (cf. 5.2 e.g. (9)).

This explanation for inflectional form (known as **khilāf** "difference" or **sarf** "averting") was later replaced by another generalization, that all accusative forms are due to verbal governors, or what resembles a verb (Mub IV: 299, Ibn Kaysān 110; cf. 2.4.2). Paradoxically, as Carter (1973b) points out, Sībawaih's original formulation later became associated with the Kufan school (In: 555ff., #75).

"Basran" objections are such as those found in Anbārī (op cit) that if **khalf** is accusative because it is distinct from **zaydun**, then **zaydun** should also be accusative because "distinct" is a two-way predicate (cf. Baṭalyūsi 257 for another argument against it).

Regardless of the problems in Sībawaih's formulation, it was not seen by Sībawaih as an alternative to governance. Rather, one has both a relation of **khilāf** and of governance in an example like,

(47) huwa khalf-a-ka "He is behind you".

Here, "(the governor) of **khalf** is what is before it (i.e. **huwa**) in the same way... that **ḥishrūna** governs **dirhaman** in **ḥishrūna dirhaman**".^{α 29} Governance is still associated with one word acting on another (cf. Carter 1972a: 190), and the accusative is the case chosen because of referential non-identity.

2.4.4. Explanation by cross-categorical similarity: indicative verb

The subjunctive and jussive verbs are governed by overt governors (Ap 1.6.1) but the indicative verb is problematic. Two Kufan explanations were advanced, of which I will discuss one, and one Basran (cf. Carter 1981: 109). I will not consider here the other Kufan idea, governance by virtue of lack of governor. Kisā'i of the Kufans said that the indicative verb was governed in the indicative (**raf**^C) mode by the person prefixes (In: 550 ff. #74, As: 28 ff.).

(48) ya- ktub- ʾu "he writes"
3 m-write-indic

Anbārī rejects this, noting inter alia (In: 554, Anbārī **Luma**^C: 134) that a governor must be in a separate word from the item it governs, and in (48) **ya-** is part of the word **yaktubu**. Instead he supports the Basran position (Sīb I: 363, 364, Mub II: 5, Ṣaymarī 395, ML: 857, 874) which says that the indicative verb is nominative because it stands in a position analogous to inflected nouns. These are positions for nominative, accusative and genitive cases (cf. 8.6.1 for further discussion).

- (49a) Position of nominative topic
zayd-un yaqûm-u "Zayd is standing up".
 nom (raf^C) indic (raf^C)
 Top Com
yaqûm-u zaydun "Zayd is standing up".
 indic (raf^C)
 Verb Agent
- b) Position of accusative
kâna zaydun dharîf-an
 was 'nice acc "Zayd was nice".
 ism Com of kâna
kâna zaydun yaqûmu "Zayd was getting up".
- c) Position of genitive
marar-tu bi rajul-in dharîf-in "I passed a
 passed I by man gen nice gen nice man".
 Modified Modifier
marartu bi rajulin yaqûmu "I passed a man
 getting up getting up".
 Modified Modifier

Anbârî (As: 28) further argues that the indicative verb specifically takes the indicative (raf^C) form because it typically occurs in a position analogous to topic (49a), and the topic is always nominative (raf^C), where it can be recalled that in Arabic grammatical terminology indicative and nominative, both -u forms, are known by the same term, raf^C (cf. (10, 11)).

The Basran account for indicative form only indirectly relies on the notion of governance: the indicative form is not itself governed, though it does take its form because it stands in the same context as nouns which are governed (cf. 2.7). This is the only instance, however, where case form is not explained as being due to a unique governor.

2.4.5 By speaker

Carter (1973a: 151; cf. also Angheliescu 1975: 11, 12) notes that for Sîbawaih the speaker is the ultimate operator (= our "governor"; cf. n. 68) in any grammatical construction. More generally, Belquedj (1973: 176 ff. Angheliescu 1985: 8) points out that Sîbawaih not entirely consistently used two types of terminology to describe the same types of grammatical relations. I will illustrate the two in respect of the notion of governance, though the point applies to all types of grammatical relations (cf. n. 104).

On the one hand relations can be described either in impersonal terms, or as one item of structure relating

itself to another (i.e. as governor to another item). For example, he discusses "...what active and passive participles govern (**ya^Cmalu**) as a verb does..." (I: 10), where the grammatical agent of this sentence is "active and passive participle". Similarly, to give some random, though characteristic examples, he speaks of an item "governing in the accusative" (**yansibu**, I: 42.10), "being put in the nominative case" (**yartafi^Cu** I: 42.8), and "the accusative being put in a predicative relation with the verb" (**yubnā^C alā l-fi^Clī**, I: 39.9).

On the other hand, the prime operator frequently is a second person pronoun "you" (m sg. form). For example he says "you put (the noun) in the nominative" (**rafa^C-ta**, I: 36.15), "you put (the noun) in the accusative" (**naṣab-ta** I: 30.6), "you put it in the predicative relation with the verb" (**banay-ta** I: 35.7), "you make it agree with the verb" (**shaghal-ta** I: 30.9) and so on.

Sībawaih does not discuss the implication of using one locution or the other, and a clearer picture of their status in his grammatical practice will have to await a more detailed study (cf. Belguedj 1973: 176 ff. for further discussion).

The issue was more sharply delineated by some of Sībawaih's successors, though for them the role of the speaker specifically turns around the notion of **ḥāmil** "governor". It is raised very briefly by Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣ I: 110) and in somewhat greater detail by his teacher, Fārisī ('Aq: 214). This discussion follows his carpentry analogy for explaining governance (cf. 2.3.1).

Fārisī says that in fact the true governor of **zaydun**, in,

(50) qāma zaydun
nom "Zayd stood up"

is the speaker.^{α 30} The parts of the process are as follows.

- (1) Zayd has the status of the site of the carpentry.
- (2) The tongue of the speaker (i.e. the speaker) as governor has the status of the axe.
- (3) The verb is the reason (**ḥilla**), the means through which the speaker produces an effect on Zayd.
- (4) The nominative inflection shows the effect of the tongue.

Fārisī says that this second analogy is the correct one for governance, and that his earlier one (2.3.1) was merely a matter of convenience since it is easier as an explanatory device for students.⁹⁰

The effect of this is not very different from his earlier formulation; in both **qāma** has a direct influence on **zaydun**, though in the latter it is only acting as intermediary for the speaker.

This conception of governance was apparently fairly restricted in the works covered in this study. I have only found it in Fārisī, Ibn Jinnī and 'Astarābādhī (cf. below). Suyūṭī, when he summarizes the 24 types of **cilla** (grammatical causes, Iq: 115-119) fails to mention this one, though he does mention another "cause" which Ibn Jinnī used, that of **'isnād** "predication" discussed in 2.4.2.⁹¹

Much later than Fārisī, 'Astarābādhī (I: 21) aptly summarizes the issues in the following way.

know that the motivator of these meanings (i.e. agent, object) in each noun is the speaker, and similarly (he is) the motivator of the signs of the inflectional endings; however, the role of motivator of the case inflections is related to a linguistic form through which the meanings appear in the nouns, and this form is called the governor because it is as if it is the reason for the inflectional endings, in the same way it is the reason for the meaning. For example, the governor of the agent, is the verb, because through it one of the essential parts of the proposition is possible. (I: 21)^{α 31}

In both Fārisī's and 'Astarābādhī's explanation it is clear that governance can be explained at two levels, in terms of the speaker or in terms of the formal properties of language, and if one of these, the speaker, is held to be the more basic one, the other is effectively of greater linguistic interest.

2.4.6 By governing item

In the final analysis I think that the various explanations for case form tend to complement rather than contradict each other: a noun can be in accusative form because it is governed by a verb and because it is an optional item and because it is object.

As Arabic linguistics developed more explanations for case form were added, complementing existing explanations at times, superseding older ones at others.

The earliest explanation was that of governance, one item affecting another, putting it in a case form (cf. Mosel 1975: 226 on Sibawaih). Equally early (Carter 1973b) was the idea of governance of an accusative by

referential non-identity (2.4.3). This latter explanation gave way by Ibn Jinnī's time to that of optional (accusative) vs. obligatory occurrence (nominative), an explanation which continued alongside that of governance by governor. Fārisī tried out the notion of governor as speaker, though as he himself pointed out this explanation had little utilitarian value and it never became widespread. I do not think anyone seriously explored the idea of explaining inflectional form according to syntactic position as an alternative to governance, though Anbārī and perhaps Ibn Jinnī seemed to hint at it, and it was used as a descriptive device ('Astarābādhī) even if its theoretical implications were not fully drawn out. (2.4.1).

In one case, the indicative verb (2.4.4), appeal had to be made to the notion of paradigmatic class to explain the indicative (-u, **raf^C**) form in the verb. This however, serves to indicate to what extent governance had to be explained as being due to a governor. This is the one case where there is no overt governor,⁹² and so in order to account for inflectional form the verb had to be compared to contexts where governed items do occur.

Throughout the history of Arabic grammar the most basic and constant account of inflectional form has been in terms of governance, governor and governed, and by following through on the many ramifications of these constructs, by correlating them with sequence, contiguity, inflectional form and optionality, they were able to achieve a remarkably sophisticated account of syntactic structure.

2.5 The function of inflection

Given the central role of case and mode form in Arabic grammar it is not surprising that the Arabic grammarians took some care to establish what its nature and function was. One of the earlier detailed discussions of this point is found in Zajjāji's **Idāh** (67-80; also Mubarrad IV: 80-81).⁹³

According to the Basrans, which is the side Zajjāji takes and the only one I summarize here, inflection is basically a nominal property; verbs and particles lack inflection (cf. also I: 145, Fārisī 'Aq: 205, Ṣaymarī 76, Anbārī As: 24).

On the one hand they argue that a noun like **zayd** has a meaning by itself, but is undifferentiated as to distinguish it in its various sentence functions, particularly to distinguish agent from object (cf. Lughda

(51) daraba zaydan ^camrun
acc nom "Amr hit Zayd".

The noun is basically not a governor. It does govern in the possessive construction where it takes a genitive possessor complement.

- (53) ghulâmu zayd-in
gen "Zayd's boy"

In this case it acquires the ability to govern through its semantic similarity to the preposition *li* "to, for", which is an inherent governor.

- (54) 'al-ghulâmu li zayd-in
gen "the boy (to) Zayd",
"Zayd's boy"

I discuss this in more detail in 9.2.2.2.5 (cf. Q 139, 140).

Inflection and governance are thus distributed symmetrically relative to each other, and deviations from this pattern occur only under specific conditions.

2.6 Uninflected words

All words are cross-classified for the property of inflection (IS I: 46 ff., Fârisî Iq: 105, 133, Ibn Jinnî *Luma*^c: 92,93, Şaymarî 76-79, Ibn Hishâm QN: 13). Nouns generally are inflected (*muṣṣab*) for case (nominative, accusative, genitive), all particles are uninflected (*mabnî*, invariable in form), and the imperfect verb is inflected (cf. 2.5.1., 8.6.1), while the past verb is uninflected (*mabnî*).

However, there are nouns which are not inflected, which have a single form (*mabnî*, cf. 8.6.2). These include many of the function words: demonstratives, interrogative pronouns, personal pronouns, and some relative pronouns.

A complete consideration of governance in Arabic theory will not be complete without a consideration of these, which I take up in the next section.

2.7 Class

In section 2.1. I argued that Arabic grammatical theory involves the recognition of syntactic positions with a set of items that occur at these positions. It follows from this that Arabic syntax should have a notion of paradigmatic class -- a set of items substituting for each other at a given position. This is indeed the case, though Arabic grammarians did not explicitly identify this as a theoretical concept.⁹⁶ Moreover, Arabic syntax would have been hard put to establish a coherent model without such a notion. Recall that the different syntactic relations an item contracts are shown by case and mode inflection so that, for example, in (55a) *zaydun* is shown to be the agent by the -u inflection, but in (55b) it is object, as shown by the -a, accusative, suffix.

- These case endings form a commutation system, as Mubarrad makes clear (I: 4) when he contrasts *zayd-un* (nom), *zayd-an* (acc), *zayd-in* (gen), with a noun like *'ayna* "where?", which has an invariable form (is *mabnī*) and does not show a change in final vowel, *'ayn-u**, *'ayn-i** (cf. Khaṣ II: 356-357 for further examples). There are a number of nouns like *'ayna* and they pose a problem to the interpretation of Arabic grammar in dependency terms since, as was seen above (2.3.1), the definition of dependency includes the stipulation that the governed noun changes its form according to the occurrence of the different governors. *'ayna* never changes its form, nor does *-ki* "you f sg object suffix", nor *-tu* "I".

- In (56) **-ki** is in the position of direct object, where one expects the accusative for **-a** (cf. (10)), and **-tu** is in the position of agent, and does not vary as to nominative, accusative and genitive.

(57a) gum- tu darabtu- ki
 stood I "I stood up." you f
 b) qâma zaydun darabtu zaydan
 nom "Zayd stood up" I acc "I hit Zayd".

The pronoun **-tu** is substituted for a noun, **zaydun**, which does have the expected nominative case marking,⁹⁷ and similarly **-ki** for **zayd-an** with its accusative case.⁹⁸

The use of substitution is quite important in Arabic theory and allows Arabic linguists to achieve a much more coherent description than would otherwise be the case. Moreover, the use of substitution to establish classes of items is applied at all levels of grammatical analysis, phonological, morphological and syntactic. I will give more examples below though here want to consider further what the syntactic status of nouns like **-tu** and **-ki** is, whether they can in fact be said to be governed, or whether they are accounted for within Arabic syntactic theory by some other type of relation.

I think the correct interpretation is that they are in a governable position, but for some reason the mark of governance, the inflection (^C'i^Crâb) is lost and the governor fails to have any influence on the form.

This is suggested in a number of examples. Ibn Jinnî (Khaṣ I: 132) notes that 'ayna in

- (58) 'ilâ 'ayna tadhabu
 to where you go "Where are you going to?"
 (not ilâ *'ayn-i)
 gen

is governed by the preposition 'ilâ which however has no effect on the final -a since 'ayna is invariable in form. The expected genitive case does not appear.^{α 36}

Similarly, Abû Bakr Anbârî (9, 10, not the author of *Inṣâf*) notes that the complementizer 'anna, which is invariable in form can stand in place of the nominative, accusative or genitive (cf. also IS I: 322).

- (59a) yu^Cjibunî 'anna-ka qâ'imun position of nominative
 pleases me that you standing

"It pleases me that you are standing".

- b) Calimû 'anna-ka qâ'imun position of accusative
 learned object
 "They learned that you are standing".

- c) fakkar-tu fî 'anna-ka qâ'imun position of
 thought I at genitive object of
 "I thought that you were standing". preposition

He notes that "the governors have no effect on the particle " (i. e. 'anna);⁹⁸ that is, the nouns are in a governable position, but do not show the effect of governance.

Finally, Baṭalyûsî (361) cites the analysis of Yûnus, Sîbawaih's teacher, for the interrogative word **man**. If this is used as an interrogative it is invariable in form since it contains the meaning of a particle (8.6.2). However, if it is used as a common noun in the sense of "so and so" it takes inflection.

- (60a) ra'â man-un man-an "So and so saw so and so".
 saw who-nom who-acc

- b) ra'â man man
 who who "Who saw who"?

That is, **man**, the interrogative, is governable, though its lack of inflectional form results from its containing

the meaning of a particle (606). The proof of this is that if this interrogative meaning is taken away (60a), the inflection returns.⁹⁹

2.7.1 Sarrâj's summary

Sarrâj devoted a small section (II: 62-69) to just this question.¹⁰⁰ He distinguishes two situations: either an item is inflected or it is not. If it is not, and if it occurs in the context of an inflectable item, it can be said to have a structural position (**lahu mawḍiʿ**); if it is inflectable it is simply known by whatever form it appears in for the given context.³⁸ That is, the two situations, having a structural position and being inflectable and governed, form a complementary class such that the total of the two together constitute the total class of items that fill a given position. For example in,

(61a) zayḍun 'abû-hu muntaliqun
 father his leaving "As for Zayd, his fa-
 Top Com ther is leaving".

the sentence 'abûhu **muntaliqun** is not an inflectable item,¹⁰¹ but it does have a structural position (**lahu mawḍiʿ**) because it occurs in the context where an inflectable item occurs.

(61b) zayḍun muntaliq-un (IS: 63)
 Top Com' "Zayd is leaving".

Muntaliqun here is not said to have a structural position, but simply to be **marfûʿ bi l-khabar** "in the nominative case of the comment". Thus, the unmarked case is for a position to be filled by an inflectable noun, and if it is not the uninflectable item that fills the position is said to have a structural position only by reference to the possibility of an inflectable item occurring there. It can be seen that taken in their totality, the items that fill the comment position (61), simple inflectable nouns, sentences, and prepositional phrases (e.g. (3a) in 2.1) will make up the total class of fillers for that position.

Note that it is not only sentences which are said to have a structural position, but any item which does not show the expected case inflection in a given context. In,

(62a) 'inna hadhâ 'akhûka
 this brother "Indeed this is your brother"

hadhâ is an invariable noun (**mabnî**) which has a structural status (**mawḍiʿ**) since it can be substituted for by a noun such as **zayḍ-an**.

An example from morphological structure concerns the following set (Sîb I: 251, IS I: 380 ff. **Mûjaz**: 42, 43, Saymarî 317, Zam 212 ff., Jurjânî Dal: q (introduction)).

- (66a i) tis^Catu-n "nine"
 nine_{indef}
- ii) 'al-tis^Catu "the nine"
 def
- iii) tis^Catu l-darâhim-i
 gen "the 9 dirhams"
- b i) cⁱishrû-na dirham-an "twenty dirhams"
 -n acc
- ii) 'al-cⁱishrûna "the twenty"
 def
- iii) khamṣata c^ashara dirham-an "15 dirhams"
 fifteen acc

Complements of ^C*išrûna* (66 b i) take the accusative (cf. 5.2 e.g. (9)) rather than genitive case, which those of ^C*tis'a* (66 a iii) take. This difference is explained as follows. Structurally the ^C*-n* of ^C*išrûna* is said to resemble the ^C*-n* which marks indefiniteness in ^C*tis'atu-n* (66 a i), but unlike the indefinite ^C*-n* it is maintained even when made definite (cf. 66 a ii vs. 66 b ii). This ^C*-n*, which resembles the indefinite ^C*-n* thus prevents the genitive from occurring in the complement, because the genitive implies definiteness (66 a iii).

The complement of the numerals 11-19 is also accusative (66c), a fact explained as follows. The numerals 11-19 are compound nouns (cf. 3.9) composed of digit + **ashar** "ten". **Ashar** is said to take the place of the **-n** of **cišrûna** and just as this **-n** forces an accusative complement, so too will any item that takes its place (**Mûjaz**: 43, cf. also IS I: 380).

- This explanation is certainly interesting, if speculative, but it shows how the use of class can reduce the complexity of the facts of grammar to a more limited number of manageable types.

Not all syntactic relations in Arabic theory are mediated in terms of dependency relations, though most are: most noun-noun and verb-noun relations are, and many particle-noun/verb relations are as well. Moreover, even when a relation is not a dependency one, it can be understood against those relations which are.

(68) $\frac{\text{min}}{\text{from}} \frac{\text{rajul-in}}{\text{man gen}}$ "from a man"

(69) lam yadhab
neg go "He didn't go".
lan yadhab-a
neg sbjc "He won't go".

(70) hal zaydun ' akhûka hal + N
Q "Is Zayd your brother?"
hal tadhhabu hal + V
"Are you going?"

Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣ II: 274-76, also IS I: 61) carries these observations further.¹⁰⁴ He notes that various sentential particles serve to stand for longer expressions that can be paraphrased with verbs, in the following manner.

- (71) mā "negative particle" stands for 'anfi "I negate"
hal "yes-no particle" stands for 'astafhimu "I ask"
'illā "exception particle" stands for 'astathnī
 "I except".

He goes on to observe that all of these verbs are transitive, governing an accusative noun, and that therefore the particles which stand in for the verbs are basically governors of the accusative.^{α 40}

Ibn Jinnī then links this to an explanation for why these particles do not in fact govern (cf. (70)). If they governed like verbs they would govern the faḍālāt, the optional sentential items like object, circumstance, etc. (cf. 2.4.2, 6.2). However, the optional sentential complements serve to make a sentence longer, and the reason for using the particles instead of the verbs is brevity. That is the particles stand in for the verbs to shorten the sentence. There would be a contradiction if particles, whose function it is to shorten an expression governed complements which tend to make the sentence long.

Regardless of the merits of this explanation, the fact that Ibn Jinnī went to such lengths to explain the behavior of certain non-governing sentential particles in terms of governance serves to underline its centrality in Arabic theory.

2.9 Constituency in Arabic theory

I have shown that Arabic theory is based on a form of dependency grammar, but it is also relevant to ask whether Arabic theory doesn't have similarities to other models of grammatical analysis. For example, I have so far ignored constituency-based grammar (cf. 2.3.1), which must be the one in most widespread use in modern linguistics. Indeed, in a pioneering article Carter (1973a) has pointed out parallels in the Arabic method of substitution and modern constituency analysis. They both share an essential feature, namely the substitution of larger items for smaller ones in order to define the syntactic status of the larger unit. Thus, in both the English and Arabic sentence,

- (72a) I passed a nice man
 b) marartu bi rajulin dharifin (Sīb I: 178)

linguists have argued that the phrases nice man/rajulin dharifin have the syntactic status of single nouns because they can be substituted for a single noun.

- (73a) I passed a man
 b) marartu bi rajulin

Sibawaih argues the Arabic case (I: 178) while Harris (1946/1971: 47) and Wells (1947/1971) were among the first to make immediate constituent analysis explicit in modern western grammatical theory.

It is instructive to compare Arabic syntactic analysis to immediate constituent analysis in more detail to see to what extent Arabic theory can be considered to be based on principles common to immediate constituent analysis (Carter 1973a: 156). It is my opinion that although Carter is correct on a number of essential points, a close comparison between the systems reveals differences, differences which must be carefully pointed out lest one ignore "...the enormous gap between the theoretical implications of Bloomfieldian and Arabic linguistic theory" (Versteegh 1978: 263).

2.9.1 Syntactic position

First and perhaps most importantly, Arabic theory recognized a number of independent syntactic positions at which various substitutions take place. In example (57) above, pronoun and noun are shown to be equivalent by substitution at the position of object, and in (61) sentence and noun occur equivalently at the comment position. The positions are given a priori, and items which occur at a single position can be shown to be of the same class.

In immediate constituent analysis (and in most grammatical theories built on it) the notion of syntactic position has no independent status. In,

(74a) I know the man.

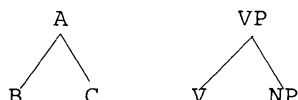
b) I know that he came.

the man and **that he came** are of the same constituent simply because they are substituted for each other, not because they both occur as object. In fact, neither Harris (1946/1971) nor Wells (1947/1971) make any reference at all to the notions subject and object, and in Chomsky (1965: 68 ff.) they are regarded as purely derivative relations to be read off of phrase structure trees whose structure has been established in large part by means of substitution techniques.

2.9.2 Dependency

Secondly, I have shown in 2.3 that one crucial notion in Arabic theory is dependency, and immediate constituent analysis does not recognize this at all. The difference between the two can be diagrammed as in (75).

(75a) Constituency

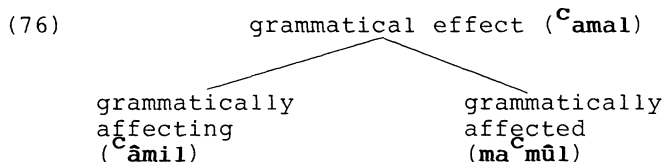


b) Dependency

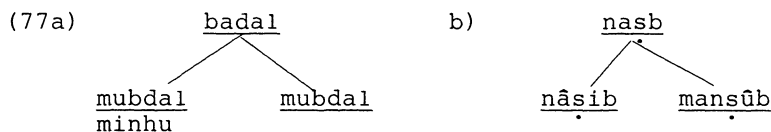


Constituency recognizes a relation between two items by virtue of inclusion in a larger whole, while dependency recognizes a direct relation between the two items. Hudson (1980) in fact has argued that constituency and dependency are two opposed analytical techniques, and that for the most part only dependency relations need be recognized in grammar.

Carter, writing on Sībawaih, suggests that syntactic relations are based on a triad like that of (76) (1973a: 151).



This suggests a constituency analysis to syntactic relations. However, I think his triadic relationship is questionable as a general schema. For example, he gives (p. 153) the two relations of (77), both represented in triads in the form of (76).



In fact, the relation between the **nâşib-mansûb** is quite different from that between the **mubdal** and **mubdal minhu** (cf. 2.3.4.1.2 and n. 13 above). A **nâşib**, like the particle **lan** (cf. e.g. (16)) which puts the verb (**mansûb**) into the subjunctive mode is a straightforward case of one item governing (grammatically affecting) another. On the other hand, between the **mubdal minhu** and the **mubdal** there is no such relation of governance. In for example,

- (78) marartu bi rajulin himârin (Sīb I: 186)
 man donkey
 "I passed a man, or rather, a donkey".

- (83) darabtu lladhī fī l-dār
 hit who in house (IS II: 69)
 "I hit the one in the house".

Sarrāj notes that if one coordinates the object 'alladhī, one has to coordinate the entire unit, 'alladhī fī l-dār, not 'alladhī alone.^{α 42}

- (84) darabtu lladhī fī l-dār wa zaydan
 hit who in house and acc
 "I hit the one in the house and Zayd".
 not *darabtu lladhī wa zaydan

Sarrāj (II: 232, 233, also Khaṣ III: 255, ML: 766) notes two further properties of the *ṣila*, dependent clause, which serve to underline the unit-like status of the sentence: nothing from inside the *ṣila* can be fronted before the relative pronoun it modifies,^{α 43} and nothing from outside the relative clause can occur inside it.^{α 44}

Dependent sentential complements have an internal integrity which reflects the unitary status of the category "sentence".

In dependency grammar the category sentence is generally dispensed with in favor of the use of verb, which effectively represents a sentence, since all the items in a sentence ultimately depend on a verb (Tesnière 1959: 102 ff.). I have pointed out above why this analysis is not available in the Arabic framework (2.3.6.1): in some cases a particle can be the initial independent item in a sentence, in others the verb, and in others the fact of beginning ('ibtidā').¹⁰⁷

In general, although the Arabic grammarians used a highly developed framework of governance, they did not use the notion of head at all. A governor is simply an item which governs another in some case or mode form. It is not an item "whose occurrence is distinctive", as in Robinson's characterization of head (1970: 271), though every governed item does have a governor in Arabic theory, nor in terms of optionality (Hudson 1984; cf. Owens 1984a for problems in defining headship).

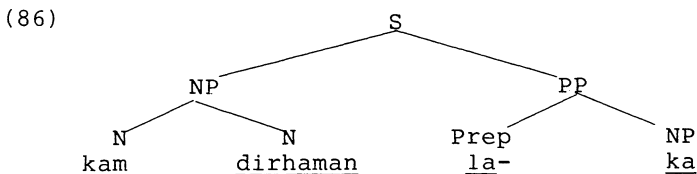
2.9.3 Dependency in Sībawaih

The discussion of the Arabic treatment of dependency has been concentrated on the analyses of the grammarians later than Sībawaih. However, there is ample evidence to show that Sībawaih too basically used a dependency analysis.

First, he frequently used terms corresponding to *ḥāmil* "governor" (an active participle form) and *maḥmūl* "governed" (passive participle form) to describe the relation between an item (governor) which determines a particular inflectional form in another word (governed). He speaks, for instance, of a *jārr* (active participle form), a preposition which puts its object (*majrūr*, passive participle form) in the genitive case, or of a *nāsib* (e.g. *lan*, "negative future") which governs a verb (*manṣūb*, passive participle form) in the subjunctive.

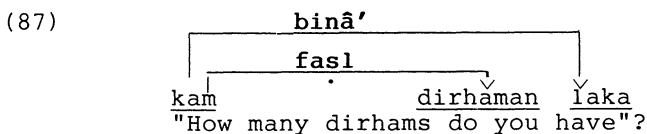
Secondly, he proposes a number of analyses which clearly reflect a dependency conception of grammar rather than a constituency one. For example, his sentence,

- (85) *kam dirham-an laka* (Sīb I: 250)
 how many dirham acc to you
 "How many dirhams do you have?"



would, in a constituency representation have the type of analysis as in (86). The predicate *laka* would be in a relation with the whole unit *kam dirhaman* not specifically with *kam*.^{α 45}

Sībawaih, however, gives the following analysis.



Dirhaman is governed by *kam* in the accusative (cf. Carter 1972a for elucidating discussion of this point, also Mosel 1975: 181 ff.). *Laka* is the predicate which is predicated of (*mabnī ʿalā*) the topic *kam*.

Without going into the exact nature of the governance relation between *kam* and *laka* (cf. discussion in 2.3.6.1), it is fair to say that *laka* is only in a direct relation with *kam*, not with *dirhaman*. This is exactly how a dependency analysis shows the matter.

This point can be substantiated with a further example.

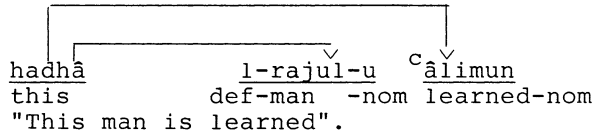
In,

- (88) dār-i khalfa dāri-ka farsakhan (Sib I: 176)
 house-my behind house-your
 "My house is one 'farsax' (distance) behind yours".

he notes that dār is topic to khalfa. The direct relation of topic (dār) to comment (khalfa) is as one word to another. He specifically does not say that the whole NP topic, dār-i "house-my, my house" is in a relation to the whole comment, khalfa dārika, a point made the more striking by the fact that in Arabic script the possessive pronoun "my", -i, is written as a bound suffix, inseparable from the noun it possesses. When Sībawaih says the topic is dār he thus has to analyze the word dār-i morphologically, and take only that part of it which forms the relation with the comment.

Examples outside Sībawaih are not difficult to find. Sarrāj (I: 179), for example, gives the following analysis to (89), which is structurally parallel to (86).

(89)



'Al-rajulu is a modifier to hadhā (c.f. 5.4.3, e.g. (42); cālīmun is the comment to hadhā. Again one has word-word relations, not phrase-phrase.

2.9.4 Substitution

A third difference between constituency and Arabic methodology is that in Arabic theory in any substitution of a larger item for a smaller one, the smaller one is always a single word (mufrad). I believe this is related in an important way to markedness considerations, where the unmarked filler of a nominal position (like object) is a simple noun (like zaydun). Any other item to be considered an object must occur in the same context as the unmarked noun does (cf. 2.7.1)⁴⁶ For instance, in (4) above it was seen that a noun clause can be construed as a single noun, while Sībawaih shows the coordinate NP to be like a single noun in,

- (90) marartu bi rajulin wa himārin "I passed a man
 passed I by man and donkey and a donkey".
marartu bi humā
 them-2 "I passed them (dual)".

The single pronoun **humā** substitutes for the coordinate noun.

In fact, a fundamental distinction was drawn between those larger syntactic units which could be substituted with a single word, and those which could not. Only the former had the ability to enter in relations analogous to dependency relations, as seen in 2.7.1. Sarrāj(II: 63) thus notes that a simple, independent sentence (this does not apply to dependent sentences) like,

(91) zaydun munṭaliqun "Zayd is leaving".

does not have a syntactic status (is not in the position of an inflectable item), because it cannot be substituted for a single noun, with the result being a complete sentence.

(92) *zaydun (incorrect as sentence)

In immediate constituency analysis, on the other hand, there is nothing in principle which prevents the substitution of one phrase for another. Harris (1946/1971: 147), for instance, states the following equivalences. He says that **the book** (T + N) can be substituted for **butter** in the context,

(93a) I don't like ____.

This is substitution of a phrase for a single word, as in Arabic theory. However, he goes on to state an equivalence between **the book** and **this piece of junk** in the context,

(93b) Who brought ____ here ?

One has the substitution of a longer phrase, **this piece of junk** for a shorter one, **the book**. Ultimately, one can establish the equivalence of **this piece of junk** with a single noun, **butter** through the equivalence with the book.

(93c) I don't like butter
the book
this piece of junk

However, one recognizes the substitution of a phrase for a phrase (93b), something not done in Arabic practice.

2.10 Complementary distribution

It is interesting to note one respect in which Arabic analysis is strikingly different from much of modern linguistic practice. This is not specifically a difference with IC analysis, though it clearly contrasts with analyses proposed by the same authors who developed

IC analysis.

In Arabic, personal agentive (subject) pronouns are suffixed to the perfect tense (also called "aspect") verb, but are prefixed to the imperfect (examples from first and third persons).

- (94a) Perfect
katab-tu "write-I" katab-nâ "wrote-we"
kataba "(he) wrote" katab-û "wrote they-m"
katab-at "wrote-she" katab-na "wrote they-f"
- b) Imperfect
'a-ktubu "I-write" na-ktubu "we-write"
ya-ktubu "he-writes" ya-ktub-ûna "they-write-m-pl"
ta-ktubu "she-writes" ya-ktub-na "they-write-f-pl"

Only in the perfect tense, however, did the Arabic grammarians recognize the person markers as equivalent to full nouns. This equivalence, as seen in 2.7 (e.g. (57)) above, is shown by substitution.

- (95a) katab-tu "I wrote"
 b) kataba zaydun "Zayd wrote"

In modern linguistics the pronoun suffixes of both imperfect and perfect tense would probably be considered positional variants, based on the principles of complementary distribution (Harris 1942/1971: 110, Nida 1948/1971: 260).

Such an analysis is not even hinted at in Arabic theory. The prefixes of the imperfect are considered particles, not nouns or verbs, where particles have no privilege of occurring as subject or object.

The reason, I think, that these prefixes are not considered a type of noun is that they cannot be substituted for overt nouns unless the structure of the sentence is re-analyzed. One does have the following.

- (96a) 'a-ktubu risâla
 I write letter "I am writing a letter".
- b) zaydun ya-ktubu risâla
 nom he write letter "Zayd is writing a letter"

Although it might be argued that zaydun in (96b) substitutes for 'a "I" in the same way it substitutes for -tu in (95) (ignoring the problem of ya- in (96b)), (96b) in fact is given a different analysis from (95). When a noun in the nominative precedes a verb (as in (96b)), the sentence has the structure of a nominal sentence (cf. e.g. (1), Ap 2.1). (96b) has the structure of a nominal sentence. (95a), however, is a verbal one because it begins with a verb. Were 'a- in (96a) considered

a pronoun, the structure of (96a) would be noun-verb, and the sentence would be a nominal one. One would thus have all imperfect verbs occurring in nominal sentence, since they all begin with a person prefix, but perfect tense verbs occurring in verbal sentences, since they begin with a verb, and have person suffixes. This would confound the overall analysis of the sentence in Arabic theory. The problem would be further compounded in the plural (and dual).

- (97) ya-ktub-ûna
3 write pl "they m write".

Here the plural suffix -û is, in certain contexts, considered an agentive pronoun (of number, IY III: 87 ff; note its post-verbal position), but if ya- were also an agentive pronoun one would have two agents, which is not allowed in Arabic theory (Zam, 18¹⁰⁸), or one would have a discontinuous morpheme as agent, which is not a concept developed in Arabic linguistics.¹⁰⁹

The notion of substitution in Arabic theory is thus generally restricted to substitution at a fixed sequential position and generalizations involving complementary distribution were consequently not made.¹¹⁰

2.11 Morphological structure in Arabic theory

At the beginning of this chapter I noted that morphological structure is accounted for in three quite different ways. These can now be summarized. First of all there is the inflectional component ('i^crâb) whose main function is to distinguish the syntactic status of nouns (2.5). In Arabic theory inflection is thus more important for its syntactic than for its morphological value.

Secondly there are bound morphemes like the pronoun -tu "I", which have the status of nouns on the basis of substitution criteria (2.7 e.g. (57), e.g. (94)). Their status is defined relative to free forms, and hence they too are more closely integrated into the syntactic than morphological component.

Thirdly there are other bound suffixes like the prefixes ya- and 'a- in e.g. (96, 97) which are neither inflectional items ('i^crâb) nor pronouns. This last class constitutes by far the biggest component or morphological analysis and indeed in Arabic theory it is the only formal morphological component in the grammar (in the sense of having its own name, taşrîf, and often its own methodological principles). I will discuss this in detail in the next chapter.

Fleisch's observations that Arabic grammatical theory did not develop the notion of word paradigms in the western grammatical sense will be clear. Some bound morphemes have the status of syntactically determined items (in the 'iṣṣāb system); others have the status of free nouns, and yet others are simply elements of morphological structure.

2.12 The structural nature of Arabic theory

A central characteristic of a structural model is that each part of the structure has well-defined attributes that distinguish it from the other parts. Within the model one explains the ability of an item to occur at a particular position by whether or not it partakes of the necessary attributes of that position. This approach is clearly in evidence in the case of Arabic grammatical theory in regards to discussion about the possibility or impossibility of a particular sentence, phrase, word or phonological form. One example of such discussion has already been given in the condition (ḥāl) construction (2.3.4.1.1), where Sarrāj argued that a certain construction could not be considered a "condition" because such an analysis would violate the general rule that a governed item cannot have more than one governor. I will give two more examples here to underscore the point that the Arabic grammarians were operating within the terms of a narrowly defined structural model. The reader may want to defer reading this section until later, as the examples sometimes cover points illustrated more fully in later chapters.

2.12.1 Can a condition (ḥāl) or specifier (tamyīz) become the agent of a passive sentence ?

(98a) Condition (Ap 3.2.1)

ja'a zaydun râkib-a-n
came Zayd riding-acc-indef "Zayd came riding "

b) Specifier (Ap 3.2.2)

taṣabbaba l-farasu ^Caraq-a-n
dripped def horse sweat acc indef
"The horse dripped sweat".

Both specifier and circumstance are accusative complements governed by the verb. (IS I: 91, Ṣaymarī 125, Asrār: 194 ff., Ast SK I: 84). They are a type of object (cf. 6.1) and in theory any object can become agent of a passive verb under certain conditions (cf. 6.6). However, in the case of (98) neither specifier nor condition can become agent.¹¹¹

(99) *tuṣabbiba ^Caraq-un
dripped sweat-nom "Sweat was dripped".

- (99) *jī'a râkibun
nom "It was come riding".

The explanation for this goes as follows: the specifier and the condition must be indefinite (a general rule). The agent (or derived agent of passive verb) can be either definite or indefinite. Only definite nouns pronominalize, and so agents (and derived agents) can pronominalize since they can be definite. The ability to pronominalize is thus one of the characteristics of the agent position.

- (100) duriba zaydun
hit nom "Zayd was hit".
duriba "He was hit".

If specifiers and condition could be derived subject it would mean that the rule allowing pronominalization of agent or derived agent would be violated. That is, the inability of these to become derived agent follows from the fact they cannot fulfill all the criteria of agenthood associated with the agent position.

2.12.2 Constraints on embedding ¹¹²

A basic constraint on relative clauses (cf. 5.3.3) is that the dependent clause must have a pronoun that refers to the relative pronoun.¹¹³ The relative clause is called the şila (cf. above d.g. (83)).

- (101) 'alladhī ra'aytu-hu zaydan
who saw I him Zayd
şila
"The one whom I saw is Zayd".

In Arabic there is a construction called 'ikhbâr "focalization" (cf. 9.4) which is formed in the following way.

- (a) Start with a regular sentence.
- (b) Pick out a noun from that sentence which you want to focus.
- (c) Make a relative clause by:
 - (i) putting the focal item into the comment;
 - (ii) putting the sentence it occurs in into a relative clause after
 - (iii) the relative pronoun, which acts as topic in the sentence. (Mub IV: 352)

Starting with the sentence,

- (102) ra'aytu zaydan
I acc "I saw Zayd".

if you want to put **Zayd** into focus, start by putting **Zayd** in the comment.

(103a) zaydun
com

Make the original sentence, less the focal item, into a relative clause (ṣila).

(103b) ra'aytuhu zaydun
ṣila com

Add a relative pronoun as topic.

(103c) 'alladhī ra'aytuhu zaydun "The one whom I saw
(=101) top ṣila com is Zayd".

Sarrāj takes great delight in showing that such sentences can become quite complex (II: 334 ff.). However, the application of the rule is simple. For instance, starting with the sentence,

(104a) 'ukhtu 'ukht-i zayd-in hindun (hind = f)
sister sister-gen zayd-gen hind
"The sister of Zayd's sister is Hind".

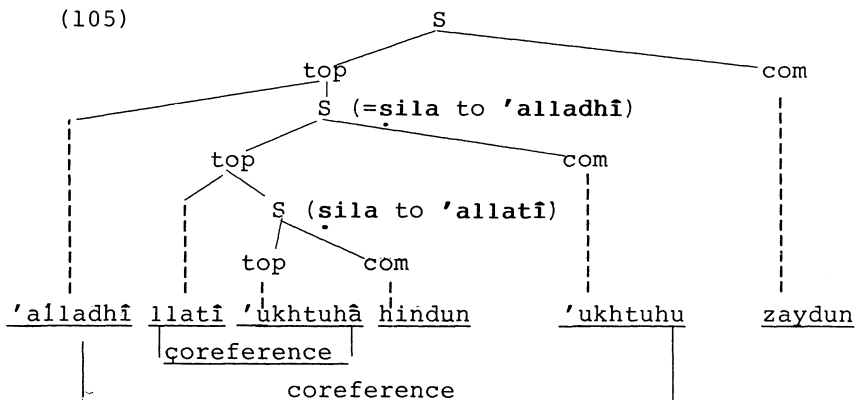
the phrase 'ukhtu zaydin can be made focal giving,

(104b) 'allatī 'ukhtu-hā hindun 'ukhtu zaydin
who f sister -her hind sister zayd

One could then go on to focalize zaydin.

(104c) 'alladhī llatī 'ukhtuhā hindun 'ukhtuhu zaydun
who m who f sister-her sister-his
"The one whose sister is Hind's sister is Zayd".
(IS II: 335)

(104c) can be diagrammed as follows.



Sarrâj notes that one could not have,

*-----
 | *-----
 | | |
 (106) * <alladhî <llatî 'ukhtuhu hindun> 'ukhtuhâ> zaydun

because the inner relative clause has no pronoun referring to 'alladhî (-hu is m and 'allatî f), nor does the outer one have one referring to 'alladhî (-hâ is f but 'alladhî is m). The structure in (106) therefore disobeys the basic rule of pronominal reference in dependent clauses, and hence is incorrect. (106) is incorrect because it disobeys one of the structural properties of relative clauses.

MORPHOLOGY

Arabic grammarians gave about equal space to syntax and morphology/phonology (the two are closely related in Arabic theory). Volume I of Sībawaih, for instance, is mainly on syntax, and volume 2 on morphology and phonology. While later manuals of Arabic grammar (e.g. Sarrāj 'Al-'Uṣūl, Ibn Jinnī Luma^C, Anbārī Aṣrār, Zamakhsharī Al-Mufaṣṣal, Ibn Aqīl Sharḥ Ibn Aqīl, etc.) tend to give greater weight to syntax than to morphology/phonology, all of them treated both subjects, and there were grammarians whose major contribution was in the field of morphology and phonology. Notable here is Ibn Jinnī, whose treatises on phonetics *Sirru Ṣinā'ati l-I'rābi*¹¹⁴) is among the first manuals of phonetics, and whose *Munṣif* is a three volume work devoted entirely to morphology, providing an invaluable insight into the treatment of this subject by the Arabic grammarians. Furthermore, perhaps half of his major work on grammatical theory, *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, is devoted to morphological and phonological questions. Ibn jinnī is thus the major source for this chapter, though of course other authors will be given due consideration.

3.1 The linguistic sign: Kalām, Kalima and Lafḍh

3.1.1 Kalām and Kalima

The distinction between form and meaning was a basic one to Arabic linguistics, though for many of the authors this distinction is implicit rather than explicit. Among the earlier grammarians one finds the form/meaning dichotomy mediated in the word *kalām* "sentence, proposition (cf. 2.2), words". As seen in 2.2 *kalām* can mean independent sentence. Thus, Ibn Fāris (87) says that the *kalām* is *sumi'a* and *fuhima* "heard" and "understood", i.e. has both a phonetic and conceptual component. The example he gives is an independent sentence.

(1) qāma zaydun "Zayd got up".

A second definition, which he says is similar to the first, is that it is a combination of sounds (**hurūf**) which have a meaning (**hurūfun dāllatun ʿalā maʿnā**).^{α 47}

In his subsequent discussion he dismisses the Baghdādi view that there are in fact two types of words (**kalām**), those which are used (**mustaʿmal**), and those which are not (**muhmal**). During the course of his discussion, in this latter group he distinguishes those which are not used because they are phonologically impossible, and those which are not used by accident, as it were. For example, phonemic compatibility rules of Arabic prohibit a word like **ḥaʿaz***, because /h/ and /ʿ/ do not co-occur in a root due to the fact that they have a similar point of articulation (Khaṣ II: 227). On the other hand, the root **nrl*** is possible phonologically, though it happens to have no meaning.¹⁵ Ibn Fāris, however, rejects the second definition (**muhmal**) of **kalām** because if meaning is an essential part of its definition, these cannot be words because they have no meaning.^{α 48 116}

For present purposes, the important point that emerges from Ibn Fāris' discussion is that the two definitions of **kalām** are not really comparable. In the first (e.g. (1)) it is "independent sentence" (cf. 2.2), and in the second "word" (or, perhaps "root"). The use of **kalām** for both independent sentence and word(s) is in fact common among the earlier grammarians. In defining the three word classes, noun, verb and particle (chapter 4), Mubarrad (I: 3), Sarrāj (IS I: 38), Zajjājī (Jumal: I), Ibn Jinnī (Luma^c: 90) all refer to them as **kalām** (without stating the form/meaning correspondence). At the same time **kalām** does double duty for "independent sentence", as was discussed in 2.2.¹¹⁷

Among the first grammarians to make a formal distinction between **kalām** "sentence" and **kalima** "word" is Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣ I: 25) where he notes that Sībawaih uses **kalim** (pl. of **kalima**) to describe the three word classes (cf. note 4 above), noun, verb, particle, because **kalim** suggests individual countable types, whereas **kalām** is a generic concept, a collection of words that make a whole (**jumal**).^{α 49}

Zamakhsharī assumes this distinction between **kalām** and **kilma** and adds a phonetic aspect to it. A **kalima** "word", is a single form associated with a meaning, whereas a sentence is composed of two words (**kalima**) joined as subject and predicate.^{α 50}

All linguists after Zamakhsharī adopt this terminology (IY I: 18 ff., 'IH QN: 11, IA I: 14), though as seen

above Ibn Hishām (ML) explicitly distinguishes **jumla** "any predication" from **kalām** "independent sentence" (cf. 2.2). Ibn Yaʿīsh and Ibn ʿAqīl add another distinction to this: **kalima** = word, **kalām** = "independent sentence", and **kalim** = roughly, dependent sentence introduced by subordinating particle (e.g. conditionals, noun clauses, but not relative clauses, since the subordinating word in relatives is a noun, not a particle).

I will return to the definition of **kalima** below (3.5.1) where it will be seen that in some contexts it has the meaning of "morpheme".

3.1.2 **Lafḍh** "form"

I have translated **lafḍh** as "form", and I deliberately leave it vague as to exactly what the nature of this form is. Among later grammarians **lafḍh** meant a phonetic form which may or may not correlate with a meaning. Zamakhsharī (6, cf. Q 50 above) defines word, **kalima** as having a form (**lafḍh**) and meaning (**maʿna**). Astarābādhī (SK I: 2-4⁵¹) and Ibn Yaʿīsh (I: 19) follow Zamakhsharī. The latter notes that **lafḍh** would include the sound 'akh made by a waking sleeper, but that while this counts as a **lafḍh** just as **rajul** "man" does, it is not a **kalima** "word" because being involuntary (**b-il-ṭabʿ**) utterance, it lacks the conventional status which words possess. ⁵²

Among earlier grammarians the term **lafḍh** was not particularly common. When referring to the behavior of sounds in phonetic processes they spoke in terms of **hurūf** ("letters, discrete sounds" cf. 3.2.1; Mubarrad I: 61 ff., Sarrāj **Mūjaz**: 165), a practice which was followed by later grammarians (Zamakhsharī 360 ff.; IY X: 7 ff.). When describing articulatory processes reference was made to the "places" or "exits" of articulation (**makhārij**) of the **hurūf** (Mub I: 192, Sarrāj **Mūjaz**: 160, Ibn Sīnā **Asbāb**: 53). If **lafḍh** was used it almost always pertained to a phonetic form that either correlated with, or failed to correlate with, a lexical or grammatical meaning.

For instance, when Khafājī (59) opposes the art of **faṣāha** "eloquent form" to **balāgha** "rhetoric" (cf. 9.3), he draws the distinction by imagining a case of two meaningless words (**muhmal**, cf. 3.1.1, e.g. (1) above and Khafājī 43), one of which is somehow better than the other. He says that one could be considered better than the other in terms of **faṣāha**, not **balāgha** because the former is concerned with pronunciation alone, while the latter, **balāgha** deals with words that also have meaning.

Jurjānī (Dal: 301) is concerned with the category of existing words qua lexical items when he says that speakers build sentences according to their meaning, not to their form (*lafḏh*), and gives the nonsense example,

- (2) *ḍaḥika kharaja* "he laughed went out" (taken from Fārisī Id: 80)

where one has two attested phonetic forms, two words, *ḍaḥika*, *kharaja*, which, however, have no meaning when used together (cf. also n. 118 and 9.2.1).

Similar to this usage is when *lafḏh* refers to a grammatical as opposed to semantic component of a sentence or word. Baṭalyūsī (In: 41) notes that Arabs "sometimes correlate words with their grammatical form, and sometimes with their meanings"^{α 53} where in this context "meaning" means "referent". Ibn Jinnī notes that a semantic agent may correspond to a different syntactic function from the syntactic agent (Khaṣ I: 341, 342, cf. 9.2.2.2.2). For example, in

- (3) *qāma zaydun* "Zayd got up".

zaydun is both syntactic and semantic agent, but in,

- (4) *zaydun qāma* "As for Zayd, he got up".

zayd is a semantic agent, but not a syntactic one, in that *zaydun* is a topic and pre-verbal nouns in the nominative case have the structural status of topics (cf. 2.1.1, Ap. 2.1.1).

Ibn Jinnī uses the observation to illustrate the point that form (*lafḏh*) can differ from meaning (*maʿnā*), where here *lafḏh* must be identified with grammatical form (=syntactic agent). In this context he notes that form can take precedence over meaning in the grammatical analysis.^{α 54}

Lafḏh is thus used as (1) any phonetic form, (2) a phonetic form that correlates with a meaning, and (3) a grammatical as opposed to semantic entity. It generally is applied to a syntagm of sounds rather than to an individual sound (whether a non-word like 'akh "sound of sleeper waking", or a word like *rajul* "man") and hence was not usually used in describing phonological processes, where the emphasis is on the interaction of discrete units, the *ḥurūf*.¹¹⁸

One further distinction worthy of note was formulated by Ibn Hishām (ML 584, 684, 789 ff.) who uses the term *ṣināʿa* for grammatical form. This term had in fact been used in roughly this sense as early as Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣ), though Ibn Jinnī does not consistently make

use of it I believe. For instance, in example (33) of chapter 2,

- (5) 'ayy-a-hum taḍrib yaqum zaydun (Khaṣ I: 347)
 which-acc-them hit get up zayd
 "Whichever of them you hit, Zayd will get up".

Ibn Jinnī says that there is a violation of grammatical rules since the object, 'ayya "which" should follow the verb taḍrib since it is its accusative object, but at the same time it should precede it since it governs it in the jussive and governors, it will be recalled (2.3.5.3), should precede the item they govern. However, he says this is only a contradiction of form (amalu ṣinā^ciyyu lafḍhiyy) not one of meaning since in fact the true governor of the verb in the jussive is an assumed conditional particle 'in "if" which is "included" in 'ayya "whichever".¹¹⁹

An example of Ibn Hishām's use of the distinction is the following (584, 789 ff.,^{α 55}the reader will have to refer to 7.2.2 to fully follow this). He notes two constraints of what the understood should be in the 'ishtighāl construction (7.2.2). First there is a semantic one (ma^cnawī), where the understood verb should be the same as the overt one.

- (6) zaydan ḍarab-tu-hu = ḍarabtu zayd-an ḍarabtu-hu
 acc hit I him hit I acc hit I him
 "Zayd, I hit him".

Secondly there is a constraint on grammatical form (ṣinā^ci). In,

- (7) zayd-an marar-tu bihi
 acc passed I by-him "Zayd, I passed him".

the understood verb cannot be marra "pass" because marra does not take a direct object.

- (8) *marartu zayd-an marartu bihi
 acc

Nor can the understood verb be marartu bi, since with a very few exceptions a preposition (bi) cannot be deleted independently of its object. Moreover, if marartu bi were understood then the accusative form of zaydan would be anomalous.

- (9) *marartu bi zayd-in marartu bihi
 gen

Therefore one must understand something like the following,

- (10) jāwaz-tu zayd-an marartu bihi
 passed I acc passed I by-him

where **jāwaza** is synonymous (in **ma^Cnā**) with **marra bi** and grammatically takes an accusative complement (cf. ML: 789).¹²⁰

3.2 Three preliminary remarks

Before dealing with the status of morphology, it will be helpful to briefly touch on three subjects, a basic outline of the Arabic orthographic system, the root system of Arabic morphology, and the status of phonology and morphophonology in Arabic grammar.

3.2.1 Orthography

In Arabic orthography only the consonants are represented by letters, though short vowels, gemination, and lack of a vowel (i.e. a CC sequence) can be represented with diacritic marks. For example, a word such as **yaktubu** "he writes" would be spelled **yktb**, a form which would be immediately clear to anyone with a knowledge of Arabic, and if it were necessary to specify the short vowels (e.g. to distinguish active from passive) the short vowel diacritics could be added, as follows: **˘ = i**, **˘ = u**, **˘ = a**, **˘ = lack of short vowel**. These can be illustrated with an example from Quṭrub's short work illustrating minimal contrasts between **i-u-a** (pp. 26-27).

- (11) ṃšk "perfume", ṃšk "grasping reins", ṃšk "grabbing"
 (= misk) (= musk) (= mask)

One peculiarity of the Arabic system is that long vowels are represented by a sequence of short vowel and homoorganic glide consonant. In the case of /ū/ (= /u + w/), and /ī/ (= /i + y/) this is arguably a reasonable treatment of long vowels (e.g. /a + w/, /a + y/). Where necessary I will represent these as a sequence of two segments, V + w/y (e.g. **maktuwb** "written"), though in most cases long /ū/ and /ī/ are conventionally written with a long mark (**maktūb**) since in most cases it is not necessary to refer to the phonological makeup of /ū/ or /ī/.

In the case of /ā/, however, the Arabic treatment involves recognizing a "consonant" called "alif", which in fact only occurs preceded by the short vowel /a/ (**fathā**) and which has no phonetic consonantal value (unlike /w/ for example, which arguably has consonantal value when preceded by /i/ or /a/, **fawq** "above"). Where necessary I will represent this long /ā/ as /ā/, with the boldface /ā/ signaling the "consonant" "a" (cf. Bohas 1984: 256 ff. for fuller discussion and Corriente 1976: 78).

The letters (*ḥurūf* sg. *ḥarf*) of the Arabic alphabet have quite a close correspondence to their surface phonological realization, and consequently in stating phonological and morphophonological rules one can refer to "letters" rather than "sounds" (cf. Mosel 1975: 215). Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that *ḥarf* for Arabic grammarians generally means "discrete sound",¹²¹ a point made perhaps most explicitly by Ibn Sīnā in his short treatise on Arabic phonetics: "a *ḥarf* (discrete phonetic sound) is a form for an undifferentiated sound (*ṣawt*) and represents it, distinguishing it from a similar sound (*ṣawt*) in sharpness and heaviness for the ear." α 56

Ṣawt "sound" is undifferentiated sound caused by the wavelike movement of air (cf. Q 56). The *ḥarf* is a sub-class of *ṣawt*; it is a sound with specifiable and discrete properties.

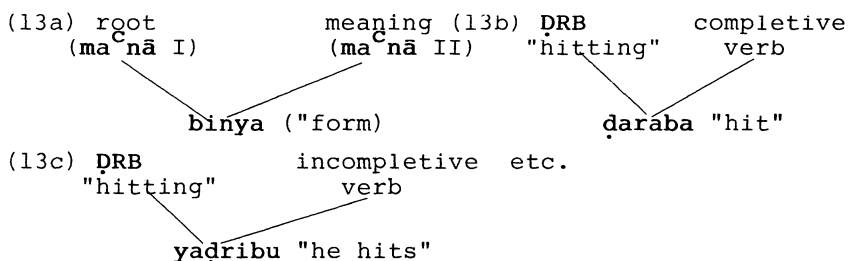
3.2.2 The root system

The central and distinctive feature of Arabic morphological practice is the analysis of words into basic consonantal roots. Nouns contain 3, 4, or 5 consonantal roots, verbs 3 or 4, three being the unmarked number (Ibn Jinnī Khaṣ: 56 ff., Mehiri 247 ff.). These root consonants are represented by the canonical shape, "*f*" "*c*" "*l*", which itself (*f^cl*) is a root meaning "do" (cf. Carter 1981: 61). The verb *kataba* "write", for instance, has the structure *f^cl* (remembering that short vowels are not represented by a separate letter). These three sounds represent a word morphologically in a way analogous to CV, consonant and vowel, in modern phonology (cf. 3.3.1).

The root has a general, basic meaning (Ibn Fāris 57, Ibn Jinnī Khaṣ II: 134) which forms the basis of many related meanings. These related meanings are represented by the root consonants put in different forms (*binā'* or *wazn*) which differ in terms of the short vowels and other letters which are added (cf. 3.3). Thus, Ibn Fāris (57) says that the root "*jnn*" (= *f^cl*) has a basic meaning of "hide, cover" (*satara*) and that different meanings are derived by the addition of other sounds and changes in vowel patterns:

- (12) *jinn-at-un* "possession, madness" (= *f^cl-t*)
 'ajanna "cover, hide" (= *'a-f^cl*)
 janīn "foetus" (= *f^cyl*)

The Arabic root structure as formalized by the Arabic grammarians has been represented by Bohas as follows.



A consonantal root like **DRB** has a lexical meaning, what Bohas calls **ma^cnā** (= "meaning") I, that relates to "hitting". This is an abstract form that has various realizations -- in the complete verb (13b), incomplete (13c), and potentially many other forms (cf. (16)). These realizations (variously known as sg. **wazn** "measure", **binya** "structure", **binā'** "structure") come about, inter alia, by giving a specific vocalic pattern, and sometimes adding other consonants to the root. If an /a/ is added after each root consonant of **DRB**, for instance, the result is the complete stem **ɗaraba**. The characteristic patterns, which Bohas calls **ma^cnā** II, are generally associated with a class meaning like "complete" (13b). I discuss the concept of **ma^cnā** further in chapter 9.

3.2.3 The Firthian nature of Arabic phonology and morphophonology

The study of Arabic phonetic, phonological and morphophonological theory is a mammoth task which I will not attempt here in any detail. I will concern myself instead largely with the semantic and grammatical aspects of morphology, and their relation to basic forms, ignoring the many phonological changes which basic forms undergo.

I should mention that an excellent introduction to Arabic morphological theory, based mainly on Ibn Jinnī and his commentator Ibn Yaʿīsh, is provided by Bohas and Guillaume (1984). Many, if not most of the points that I deal with are gone into in greater detail in that work. One point that is not completely clear in it, however -- and this partly due to the material covered and its overall aim -- is where the Arabic grammarians stand in terms of morphemic analysis. Guillaume (1984: 457) for example speaks of the "morpheme" **laysa** "be not", though it is not at all clear how many morphemes this form contains, or indeed whether the notion of morpheme is applicable at all to it. This will be my main goal in the rest of this chapter, though I hope also to provide a skeletal outline of Arabic morphological theory.

Before beginning, however, there are two points worth making in regards to the nature of Arabic phonological practice, both of which underscore the Firthian (prosodic theory) nature of Arabic theory (Firth 1948, Palmer 1968). First, there are very, very few purely phonological rules in Arabic theory. Phonology is by and large morphophonology (cf. Bohas 1985: 47). This is quite clear in Ibn Jinnī's organization of his *Munṣif*, his three volume study of morphology. Whenever he deals with the details of phonology and morphology he nearly always treats nouns and verb separately. The reason for this is that in many cases a rule or constraint that applies in the noun does not apply in the verb, and vice versa. For example, nouns, but not verbs, have five consonantal roots, and verbs, but not nouns occur in the pattern *fuḥila* (*ḡuriba* "be hit") (cf. Mub I: 151 for example of phonological changes applying in different ways to the two classes and 4.9.1a, 4.9.3 below).

Further, even general rules can be prevented from occurring if they lead to ambiguity. This ambiguity may be lexical, where, for instance, the general assimilation ('*idghām*) rule, /n + m/ ---> /mm/ can work in the case of

(14a) '*anmaḥā* ---> '*ammaḥā* "get erased"

but it cannot work in the case of,

(14b) *zunm* ---> **zummm* "a part of the ear near the lobe"

because this would yield *zummm*, which already exists, *zummm* "tie up", and so an unacceptable ambiguity would result (Mun I: 73). In book II (Mun 157 ff.) Ibn Jinnī has a major section on the change of /w/ and /y/ necessitated by the need to distinguish a noun from an adjective.

The ambiguity may also be a structural one, where a rule does not apply because it would lead to an ambiguous interpretation of a basic morphological structure (*binā'*). For example, there is a general rule,

(15a) /awa/ ---> /ā/

in Arabic morphophonology, e.g. *qawala* ---> *qāla* "he said" (Mub I: 96, 188, Mun I: 233, SM: 218-225). One would expect this rule to give the form,

(15b) *karawān* ---> *karān** "species of plover"

but it does not, and the "original" form stands. This is because *karawān* has the root structure *krw* + *ān*, where *-ān* is a suffix (cf. 3.6). Were (15a) to apply one would get *karān*, where the final *-ān* could be incor-

rectly interpreted as part of the root, on the analogy of say, *jamāl* "beauty" or *kamāl* "perfection" (= *fa^Cāl*). The rule is thus prevented from operating due to the need to prevent a structural ambiguity (Mub I: 99, 109, 260, Mun: II: 135-136, Khaṣ III: 96 and Guillaume 1984: 365 for further such examples).

Secondly, Arabic (morpho)phonology views each place in structure as potentially unique, undergoing its own rules. As noted above, the basic shape of a word is represented by the letters *f^Cl*, and it is a fundamental premise that a rule that applies at "f", i.e. initially, will not necessarily apply at "c", medially, or "l", finally. Ibn Jinnī begins his discussion of the morphology of verbs for example (Mun I: 184 ff.) with the rules that apply at "f" (initially), then moves on to "c" (medial), and then "l" (final), and follows the same procedure for nouns (cf. Mub book I for similar, though not so well organized a practice).

The prosodic approach is clear and striking. In prosodic theory the phonological rules which apply in a noun are not necessarily those to found in a verb, and the phonological constraints and processes which apply initially are not necessarily identified with those which apply finally.¹²²

The reason for this approach in Arabic theory is not hard to find, for it is based on the theory of markedness (cf. chapter 8) where each element of structure is classified for a degree of markedness. A noun is less marked than a verb (8.5 e.g. (10)), and consequently would not be expected to undergo all the same rules and obey the same constraints as the verb, while for position, the "f" is less marked than the "c", which in turn is less marked than the "l" (Mun I: 235, 246).

With these points in mind I now turn to the main point of this chapter.

3.3 Taṣrīf

The core of Arabic morphology revolves around the concepts of *taṣrīf*, which can be broadly translated as "morphology" and in some contexts as "derivation", and to a lesser degree *'ishtiḳāq* "derivation".

Taṣrīf is based on the root *ṣrf* which has a basic idea of changing direction, averting and of flowing freely. From this root are derived a number words of import in grammatical studies, all having the idea of "flowing freely, being able to change from one form to another". For instance, if a noun is *munṣarif*

it can be inflected in all three case forms, whereas if **ghayr** (not) **munṣarif** it has only two case forms and lacks the indefinite **-n** (cf. 8.6.3). If a root has the property of **taṣrif** it is derivationally unrestricted, occurring in many different forms (cf. below). If it lacks this property it is restricted to a small number of forms, or to one form.

The verb **taṣarrafa** is also used in a less technical sense of "behave like other members of a certain paradigm", as when Anbārī (In: 142) says that **laysa** "be not" and **casā** "maybe" have the **taṣarruf** (behavior) of past verbs since they take agent suffixes, or when Ibn Jinnī (Luma^C: 136) talks about the behavior (**taṣarruf**) of the second object complement of verbs like **ḡhanna** within the paradigm of items which can occur as comment (cf. 9.2.2.2.4).

In this chapter I will be concerned with defining the technical sense of **taṣrif/taṣarrafa** as it is applied to the study of morphology.

As noted in 2.3.1 and 2.11, the study of the Arabic word is divided into two parts, the inflectional endings (**'i^C rāb**) and the changes that take place inside the word. The study of the first falls within the domain of **naḥw**, syntax, the latter within the domain of morphology. Ibn Jinnī (Mun I: 4, 5) in a statement that recalls some of the American structuralists of the 1940's and early 1950's, argues that the study of morphology should precede that of syntax because morphology defines the structure of words, and syntax the place of a word in a sentence, and one cannot study the word in a context until one has defined the word itself. Nonetheless, in manuals of grammar (including Ibn Jinnī's own Luma^C)¹²³ most of the topics of morphology are left until the very end, after the syntax, and as will be seen in chapter 9, some linguists (e.g. Jurjānī) give an explicit priority to the study of words in context as opposed to the study of individual words.

3.3.1 Taṣrif: distinguishing basic and non-basic sounds

Three meanings of **taṣrif** can be distinguished, two of them very close to each other. First, it is concerned with defining the basic and non-basic ("added", **zā'id**; I use "non-basic/added" interchangeably) sounds in a word (Jumal: 339, Mun I: 2,⁵⁷cf. 3.5 for methodology). The basic sounds are represented by **"f"**, **"c"** and **"l"** (**f^Cl** "do") so that, for example, the verb **fahima** "understand" would have the shape **fa^Cila**, **daraba** "hit", **fa^Cala**, the noun **rajul**, "man", **fa^Cul**, and so on. All the sounds in these words are basic to the root and together define the basic meaning of the root. In the case of words

with 4 or 5 basic consonantal sounds, the basic sounds are reduplicated, so that *qimṭar* "satchel" is represented *fi^clal*, *qarqal* "sleeveless dress" as *fa^clal* (Mun I: 24), and *samaḥmaḥ* "very bald" as *fa^cal^cal* since in this case the second and third basic consonants, /m/ and /h/ are reduplicated (Khaṣ II: 60, 61).

The non-basic sounds are represented by themselves, so that, for example, *yaktubu* "he writes" is *ya-f^culu*, where the *ya-* prefix is a *ḥarf muḍāri*, a sound of the imperfect verb (cf. 2.11). *Darāḥim* "dirhams" (money unit), is *fa^cālil* from the root *drhm*, *f^cll*, with the long /a/ (which in Arabic orthography counts as a consonant, cf. 3.2.1) added in the plural; *'intaḡala* "move" is *'ifta^cala* with a *-t-* infixed in the root *nql*. The added sounds occur especially, though not exclusively, as infixes in words, a point which led Arabic grammarians to emphasize the word-internal domain of *taṣrīf*.

Short vowels do not count in defining basic and non-basic structures, though they are used to define possible types of morphological structures (e.g. nouns never are of the form *fu^cil* and no form ever is *fi^cul*, Mun I: 20, cf. Bohas 1984: 35 ff.). They do contribute to the overall meaning of a form (Ibn Fāris 310), and their place in a morphological structure can always be represented.

As noted above (3.2.2), the delimitation of canonical form in this way is similar to the delimitation of syllable structure in terms of CV units, and it is particularly useful in the discussion of phonological processes.

3.3.2 Taṣrīf: total range of morphological patterns

A related use of *taṣrīf* is the total range of forms or morphological patterns a given root has. Roughly, the morphological patterns are morphologically as opposed to syntactically determined.

Syntactically determined elements are the case endings (2.3.1), pronominal suffixes (since they substitute for overt nouns, cf. 2.7 e.g. (57)), the items of definiteness the indefinite *-n* and the definite article prefix,¹²⁴ and in addition certain prepositions, discourse and emphazier affixes are not counted as a part of the morphological word structure, though they are written orthographically as affixes.¹²⁵

Virtually all other morphological elements are treated within the terms of *taṣrīf*. These elements have in common the fact that they are associated with a fixed pattern and that if any of the elements are

taken away the morphological pattern is destroyed and the meaning radically altered or lost altogether. Thus, if the indefinite -n of **rajulun** "a man" is taken away the basic meaning of **rajulu** remains unaffected. By contrast, if the morphological suffix -**ân** is removed from **sakr-ân** "drunk" the result, ***sakr** is not a word (cf. In: 37 for the **naḥw-tasrîf**, syntax-morphology contrast as one based on the status of the meaning of morphemes).

I will return to the syntax-morphology distinction at the end of this section (3.3.4).

An example of the **taṣrîf** of a root, its total range of forms, is as follows, using the root **ktb** "concerning writing"

(16) kataba	"he wrote"	=	<u>fa^cala</u>
yaktubu	"he writes"		<u>ya-f^culu</u>
taktubu	"she writes"		<u>ta-f^culu</u>
kattaba	"make write"		<u>fa^cala</u>
maktûb	"written"		<u>ma-f^cul</u>
kâtaba	"correspond"		<u>fâ^cala</u>
maktab	"office"		<u>ma-f^cal</u>
maktabatun	"library"		<u>ma-f^cal-atun</u>
maktayyib	"small office"		<u>ma-f^cayyil</u>
kitâb	"book"		<u>fi^câl</u>
kutub	"books"		<u>fu^cul</u>
kitâbatun	"writing"		<u>fi^câl-atun</u>

The **taṣrîf** of **ktb**, or any other root, is all the different forms (excluding those related to syntax) built on this root. I will discuss how these different forms are arrived at below (3.5); here it will be sufficient to note that each form (**binâ'**, **wazn**) falls within a morphological type, as represented by the **f^cl** templates on the right. Like **kataba** = **fa^cala** one has **ḍaraba** "he hit", **haraba** "he escaped", **ghasala** "he washed", etc.; like **kutub** = **fu^cul** one has **judud** "new pl", **suhub** "clouds", **qudum** "bold pl", and so on.

Taṣrîf is viewed both as a system and as a process by the Arabic grammarians.¹²⁶ On the one hand the **taṣrîf** of a form is the total range of patterns a root fits into (where no roots will realize all possible morphological patterns). At the same time one can apply the **taṣrîf** to a root, "make it circulate", to obtain the range of forms it is realized in.

If a form has a large range of related forms it is said to be **mutaṣarrîf**; if it is restricted to just one or two forms it is **ghayr mutaṣarrîf**. The root **ktb**

is **mutaṣarrif**. The verb **laysa** "be not", by contrast, is **ghayr mutaṣarrif** because it occurs only in the perfect tense. It has no imperfect, no active participle, no passive participle, and so on.

The importance of the system of **taṣrif** lies not only in its function in classifying all the morphological forms in Arabic, but also in providing the speaker a template for finding new forms which he or she may never have heard before, on the basis of those which he or she knows. Ibn Jinnī (Mun I: 2, also Khaṣ II: 40, Zajjājī Id: 64) for example notes that if a speaker wants to make a verbal nouns (**maṣdar**) from the verb **'akramtuhu** "I honored him", then he/she will prefix **mu-** to the root and keep the /a/ after the /r/ (= **muf^cal**), since this is the pattern of all verbal nouns relating to verbs of the form **'af^cala^{α 58}** (cf. 3.8 for further).

3.3.3 Sub-categories of **taṣrif**

As Bohas (1984: 11) notes, among later grammarians like Ibn ^cUsfūr (**Mumta^c**: 31, 32) a different dichotomization of **taṣrif** was made, namely that between morphological derivation and morphophonological rule (what Bohas 1984: 29 calls, respectively, **taṣrif I** and **taṣrif II**). Among earlier writers (Sarrāj **Mūjaz**: 161, Ibn Ya'īsh SM: 99, following Ibn Jinnī; cf. Bohas 1984: 169 ff.) five sub-parts of **taṣrif** were distinguished: the addition of added sounds, change in a form in terms of consonants and vowels, deletion of sounds (**hadhf**), assimilation (**'idghām**), and the change of one sound to another (**'ibdāl**). Roughly it would appear that the first two pertain to morphological (e.g. derivational) change (**taṣrif I**), the other three to morphophonological change (**taṣrif II**).

In this chapter I have been, and will continue to be, concerned with Bohas' **taṣrif I**, the delimitation of the inventory of morphological patterns. An adequate examination of **taṣrif II**, morphophonological rules, takes one into one of the most complicated aspects of Arabic grammar (cf. Ibn Jinnī's **Munṣif** and Bohas and Guillaume 1984 for detailed exposition). I will not deal with them further, except to note that both types of **taṣrif** often imply the other. I will give two examples.

If the added sound (infix) **-t-** is infixed after an emphatic (velarized) consonant it is assimilated in terms of emphasis.

- (17a) **'is-t-bara** "be patient"; passive **-t-** added in root **sbr** (cf. 6.4); morphological rule

- (17b) 'istabara general rule of assimilation ('idghām)
 $C_{\text{emp}} + C \rightarrow C_{\text{emp}} C_{\text{emp}}$ (C_2 = dental obstruent)

The morphophonological rules can apply even without the addition of added sounds, within the domain of a noun or verb stem. Morphophonological changes are particularly common when roots contain /w/ or /y/. An example of one such change was illustrated in (15).

- (18) qawala ---> qāla awa ---> ā

Much more complex rules of the type in (19) (which I will not analyse here) were discussed in great detail by the grammarians.

- (19a) *qawala-tu initial underlying hypothetical form
 said I "I said"
 b) ---> *qawal-tu
 c) ---> *qawultu
 d) ---> *quwltu
 e) ---> qultu "I said" (surface form)

Each step in the derivation was motivated by more or less general principles of morphophonology. The similarities of this approach to generative phonology are discussed by Bohas (1984: 92-94, 269 ff., 315; cf. Mub I: 97 ff., Sarrāj Mūjaz: 161, Jurjānī Muqt: 328, Ibn Jinnī Khaṣ II: 343, 344, Ibn Ya'īsh SM, Guillaume 1984: 446 ff.)

It can be noted that morphophonological rules of taṣrīf II can apply to a form which itself is not even mutaṣarrīf (cf. above). This point can be seen with a defective verb like laysa "be not". This too undergoes the various morphophonological rules of the type in (19)

- (20) laysa + tu ---> las-tu "I am not"

though as noted in 3.3.2 this verb is said to be morphophonologically defective (ghayr mutaṣarrīf, In: 161) because it occurs in a single perfect tense paradigm. It is not mutaṣarrīf in the way ktb (16) is since it fails to appear in any other pattern, *yalīs imperfect tense, *lāyīs active participle, and so on.

3.3.4 Borderline cases and the breakdown of the morphology/syntax, taṣrīf/naḥw model

I should note that there are sets of suffixes whose status as items of morphological structure within the Arabic framework is not completely clear. The fact that these suffixes occur finally underscores the point that taṣrīf applies in the clearcut instances to changes

inside a root. The items at issue include gender/number suffixes of the dual and sound plurals of nouns,

- (21) rajul-â-ni
 man 2 "two men" (nom)
 rajul- ay-ni
 2 acc "two men" (acc/gen)
 muslim- û-na
 pl/nom "Muslims" (nom)
 muslim- î-na
 pl/acc "Muslims" (acc/gen)
 muslim-â-tu
 pl-f "Muslims, f"

the feminine singulative suffix **-t**,

- (22) muslim-at "Muslim, f"

and the emphatic **-nn** which can be suffixed to verbs with a future meaning.

- (23) yaktuba-nn-a "he should write"

None of these are treated by Ibn Jinnî in his **Munşif**, a fact which shows that they are somewhat marginal to the study of **taşrif** (cf. Versteegh 1985a: 152), though in modern texts (Râjiḥi 1974, 1975) they are included within **taşrif**. I will discuss the first two cases here.

A special status for the feminine **-t** in examples like (22) is implied by Mubarrad (IV: 20 ff., Şaymarî 372, Baṭ 252) when he notes two similarities between compound words (3.9 below), which are made up of two words, and nouns with the feminine **-t**. Semantically both the second member of the compound word and the feminine **-t** are added to a root to change the meaning, the compound word forming a compound, the feminine **-t** making a masculine noun feminine. They have certain structural similarities as well. For example, in both the compound and the feminine **-t** the vowel before the suffix (the **-t**, the second word of the compound) is /a/.

- (24) muslim-a-t "Muslim f"
 hadra-mawt "Hadramawt" (compound place name)
 khamṣa aṣharat "15" (compound < 5 + 10)

Further, in the vocative a process called **tarkhîm**, the deletion of the final sound or morpheme, takes place in certain words (IS I: 437). In the present examples, both the feminine **-t** and the second member of the compound undergo this deletion process.

- (25) yâ muslima 'aqbilî (Mub IV: 21)
 voc come "Oh Muslim f come!"
 yâ hadra 'aqbil "Oh Hadra(mawt), come"! (i.e.
 if s.o. were called "Hadramawt")

Thus in certain respects the feminine -t was seen to have an independent word-like status, while at the same time being part of the word it is suffixed to.

The problematic status of examples like (21) was the subject of controversy that has been summarized in considerable detail by Versteegh (1985a). It is the topic of one of the Kufan-Basran debates (# 3, In 33-39). This short summary is mainly based on these two sources.

Anbârî summarizes three main positions for the analysis of dual and plural suffixes.

(a) Orthodox Basran. The vowels of the dual and plural stand for some assumed (muqaddar, cf. chapter 7) case inflection, but are not themselves the case markers. In this view they are only morphological markers of number (Versteegh 1985: 159-161).

(b) Kufan. The suffixes are portmanteau, indicating both number and case.

(c) Jarmî (mid 9 century) and certain Basrans. The basic suffixes are number markers and case is shown by the change of form (e.g. uw ---> iy, nom ---> acc/gen in plural; Versteegh 1985: 164, 165).

As Versteegh points out (1985: 158), the problem for the orthodox Basran view, which also was effectively the standard one, was that it demands a discrete morphological analysis on the basis of one morph = one morpheme. Both the Kufan and Jarmî's approaches on the other hand imply a portmanteau analysis.

Versteegh is properly critical of the orthodox Basran opinion here, though I believe his explanation should be qualified, since he perhaps overemphasizes the degree to which Arabic theory demanded a one-to-one sound /meaning correspondence. As Versteegh himself (1985a: 167) notes portmanteau morphological units were in fact accepted by Arabic grammarians in many instances. Indeed, one of the bases for the Arabic explanation of inflection irregularity in nouns was that inflectionally deficient nouns were morphologically complex (cf. chapter 8), and Anbârî himself is no exception (e.g. Asrâr 30 ff., cf. also Q 65 below). Rather it is especially in case inflection that portmanteau realizations appear to have been anathema in the standard

view. This is one of the reasons for Anbārī's rejection of the Kufan approach (In: 39, As: 53): if the dual and plural suffixes indicate case inflection, then their deletion should not change the basic meaning of the word, which as seen in 2.5 was one of the defining characteristics of case. However, if the suffixes are dropped in (21) the meaning of the word is changed completely (i.e. to singular). Therefore they cannot be markers of case. In Anbārī's view the dual and plural are basically morphological elements which serve to modify the meaning of the word they are attached to (In I: 36 ^{α 59}). Case inflection on the other hand is syntactically defined (cf. 2.5). if the two (case/number) come together in one morpheme, one has to give way to the other, and Anbārī opts for the dominance of the morphological relation between stem and suffix.

In any case, what is important here is not the solution Anbārī comes to, from a modern perspective the least satisfying of the three, but rather the methodological and analytical techniques used. As Versteegh points out (1985a: 167), the three solutions proposed uncannily mirror three fundamental approaches to morphological analysis in modern linguistics (Hockett 1954/1971, Matthews 1972, 1974); a discrete morphemic approach (= roughly Hockett's Item and Arrangement, especially as interpreted by Matthews 1972: 109 ff.)¹²⁷= Basran; Word and Paradigm (= Kufan) and Item and Process (Jarmī). I return to this point later (3.7).

3.4 'Ishtiḡāḡ "Derivation"

Within the study of morphology is a subject related to *taṣrif* and to a degree based on it, though somewhat more restricted in nature. This is 'ishtiḡāḡ, which can be translated as "derivation".

Four usages of 'ishtiḡāḡ can be distinguished. First, and most informally, 'ishtiḡāḡ is the derivation of one word (of any class) from another, where the derivation involves both a change in form and meaning. This is the sense in which the eighth century linguist Asma^cī uses in his book, *Kitābu 'Ishtiḡāḡi l-'Asāmī* "Derivation of Names", one of the earliest extant books on Arabic grammar after Sībawaih. In the work he describes the derivation of tribal and place names from nouns and verbs in Arabic. Here derivation simply means any relation between two words (of any class) based on the same root, where one can be said to be based on (derived from) the other.

This usage is also found among later writers. Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣ II: 33-35) notes instances where nouns are

derived (**mushtaqq**) from verbs and particles, and verbs from particles.

- (27) dārib "hitting" (AP, noun) < daraba "hit" (verb)
lawlā "if only x happened" < law "if" lā "not"
sawwafa "put off" < sawfa future particle

(cf. also Khaṣ III: 242, IS II: 449). Larcher (1983) discusses a number of examples of verbs derived (**mushtaqq**) from idiomatic expressions.

A second meaning is Ibn Jinnī's (Khaṣ II: 134) where '**ishtiqaq**' has a usage very similar to that of **taṣrif**, the sets of morphological forms derived from a single root.

Ibn Jinnī's distinction is not, I think, completely clear. It may be that a distinction is to be made between '**ishtiqaq**' and **taṣrif** in that the latter is the total range of forms a root occurs in, its characteristics morphological forms (its **taṣarruf**) while '**ishtiqaq**' is the actual process of deriving one form from another (Mehiri, 241). In these terms one could understand Ibn Jinnī's claim that '**ishtiqaq**' could not exist without **taṣrif** (Mun I: 2) analogously to Hjelmslev's (**Prologomena**: 40) that process presupposes the existence of system.

However, I do not see this distinction as being a particularly clear one in Ibn Jinnī. Thus, Ibn Jinnī talks about relations between forms in one place in terms of **taṣrif** (Mun I: 2) and a little later describes similar relations in terms of '**ishtiqaq**' (Mun I: 4).

His commentator Ibn Ya^Cīsh (SM: 119) does not distinguish the two for practical purposes, using mainly '**ishtiqaq**' to describe the link between derivationally related forms.

It is Ibn ^CUṣfūr (53, 54) who proposes a clear distinction between the two. As with Ibn Jinnī he says that '**ishtiqaq**' is included within **taṣrif**, and says it is distinguished as follows. in '**ishtiqaq**' one has to derive a non-basic category (**far**) from '**aṣl**', cf. chapter 8). For example, the adjective '**aḥmar**' "red" (= '**af**^C**al**') can be said to be derived (**mushtaqq**) from **ḥumrah** "redness" (**fu**^C**lah**) since a noun is a more basic category than an adjective (cf. 8.6.3 e.g. (21)).

However, in the pair,

- (28) '**ayṣar**' "being generous to a non-relative"
'**aṣār**' (pl = '**af**^C**āl**)

it can be shown by **taṣrif**, by comparing the singular to related forms (which Ibn ^CUṣfūr does not do) that the

/y/ in the singular is a non-basic sound, that it is not part of the root (cf. 3.5 for methodology). However it cannot be said that the singular **'ayṣar** is derived, **mushtaqq** from the plural **'aṣār** since a basic category, singular in this instance, cannot be derived from a less basic one, plural. It is only **taṣrif** which informs us of the non-basic status of /y/.

A third usage is Ibn Jinnī's (Khaṣ II: 134) where he proposes a distinction between two types of **'ishtiḡāq**, minor (**ṣaghīr**) and major (**kabīr**). Minor derivation is that described already (= **taṣrif**, roughly), whereas major derivation is based on his observation that when one considers three root consonants, like **klm** "speaking" and permutes the letters in all possible combinations, **mlk** "acquiring", **kml** "finishing" etc., and considers the different basic root meaning associated with each, one will find a single "supra" meaning uniting all these different meanings (cf. Khaṣ I: 5 ff., Mehiri, 252ff. for more discussion). This is certainly an interesting idea, though not one which found a great deal of favor with subsequent morphologists (Ibn ^CUṣfūr 40).

Finally I can note that in modern textbooks, based on such later writers as Astarābādhī (cf. Bohas 1984: 148 ff.), the notion of **'ishtiḡāq** has become somewhat specialized, referring to six nouns, all derived from verbs: the comparative noun, active and passive participles, verbal noun of time and place, verbal noun of instrument, and the noun of exaggeration (**ism mubālaḡha**) (Rājiḡī 1975: 75-89).

I should perhaps not leave this subject without mentioning one of the more famous questions in Arabic linguistics, whether the noun is derived (**mushtaqq**) from a verb or a verb from a verbal noun (cf. Versteegh 1977, chapter 5 and Bohas 1984: 129ff. for summary of the arguments). The most thorough summary of this is found in Anbārī (In 235 ff., cf. also Zajjājī Iḡ 56 ff. for an earlier treatment), and I think it fair to say that the argument is pretty much a standoff (though predictably enough Anbārī rules in favor of the Basrans who held the noun to be basic, cf. 8.5). Methodologically the issue is not of great importance, and so when, for example, Ibn Jinnī talks about derivation from a root he can simply refer to derivation from a specific root like **klm** without specifying whether the derivation is from verb or verbal noun.

3.5 Morphemes and added sounds

As noted in 3.3, the study of *taṣrīf* defines the basic and added sounds in a word. The basic sounds correspond to the root. In this section I will concentrate on the added sounds (*ḥurūf zā'ida*) and will attempt to bring together all the elements of Arabic morphological theory (except compounding).

3.5.1 Added sounds and bound morphemes

First of all, not all non-basic sounds added to a root within a (phonological and/or orthographic) word are *zā'ida*. An interesting set of examples comes from Ibn Ya'īsh (I: 19) where he explains Zamakhsharī's definition of *kalima* (cf. Q 50 in 3.1.1 above).

- (29a) 'al-rajul "the man"
 def man
 (b) ḍarab-ā "they (dual) hit"
 2
 (c) ḍarab-ū "they m pl hit"
 m/pl

In each example there are two obvious candidates for segmental morphemes, a root and prefix (29a) and suffix in (29b, c). The words constitute one orthographic and phonological unit in Arabic. Ibn Ya'īsh explains each as consisting of *kalimatayn* "2 *kalima*", which in this context must be taken to mean "two morphemes" rather than "two words" in the Bloomfieldian sense (word as minimal free form, cf. below). In (29a) one has *'al* + *rajul* while in (29b, c) *ḍarab* + *ā* (dual)/-*ū* (m pl) there is verb + pronoun. ^{α 60} ^{α 61}

Ibn Ya'īsh goes on to delimit the notion of *kalima* giving it a lower limit. An item can be pronounced without having a meaning. This is the case with the final /l/ of *rajul*, which by itself has no meaning and hence is not a *kalima*. On the other hand, if one were to give someone the name "*ḍarabā*", then the *ā* would no longer be a *kalima* as in (29b) but rather would become part of the name *ḍarabā*, which could not be divided into smaller meaningful units. ^{α 62} ¹²⁸

So far as the discussion has gone there is little difference between the Arabic conception of *kalima* (at least the later conception of Ibn Ya'īsh) and that of Bloomfield: "a morpheme is a recurrent (meaningful) form which cannot in turn be analyzed into smaller recurrent (meaningful) forms" (1927/1971: 27).

Kalima and "morpheme", however, are not always equivalent.

3.5.1.1 Kalima: word or morpheme?

First, kalima is also used implicitly in the sense of "word", "minimal free form". Zajjājī (Iḍ: 75) for example says that a verbal sentence consisting of verb + agent, as in yaf^Cul-ân "they dual do" (or like (29b)) is one word (kalima wāhida). Here kalima would seem effectively to be an orthographic word, which may be composed of more than one kalima (in the sense of Ibn Ya^Cīsh above).

Similarly, it was seen in 2.4.4 (e.g. (48)) that Anbārī appeals to the notion of word to argue against one Kufan idea about the governance of the imperfect indicative verb: the person suffix cannot be said to be a governor of the indicative mode because a governor cannot be a part of the same word which it governs.

Considerably later than Zajjājī and Anbārī, Astarābādhī (I: 5) confronts this dual definition of kalima (word/morpheme) directly, the only linguist among those surveyed to do so I believe. He first poses himself the following hypothetical question.

If it is said in your expression muslim-âni "Muslim-dual" and muslim-ûna "Muslim-pl" and baṣr-î "basran, Basra-adj", and in all the imperfective verbs, that each part of their form (lafḍh) has its own signification -- the -û means "plural" (i.e. yaktub-ûna) "write-m/pl"), and -â "dual" (yaktub-âni "write-dual"), and -î "adjective" (nisba as in baṣrî above), and the imperfective prefixes mean both "imperfective" and signify the agent (na-ktubu "1/pl write, we write") and similarly in qā'im-at the -t means "feminine" and so on with the indefinite -n, definite al- prefix (cf. (29a)), and -â "dual", then one is led to conclude that each of these forms is compounded, and similarly their meanings, so one has to say that they consist of two kalima, not one. ⁶³

Here perhaps even more clearly than in Ibn Ya^Cīsh kalima is identified with "morpheme".

Astarābādhī suggests, however, that in

- (30) ya-ktubu "3/m writes"
ya-ktub-ûna "3/-writes-pl"
baṣr-î "Basra-adj, basran"
qā'im-at "standing-f"
 etc.

one can still speak of the forms as consisting of one word (*kalima*) in that they form a single phonological unit. Thus, in the first example in (30) neither the unit *ya-* nor *ktubu* can stand by themselves as "free forms" (not Arabic terminology). The two morphemes are *kalimat-ân* "by force of their close compounding are like one word".⁶⁴ That is, *kalima* becomes defined on two levels: morpheme in the Bloomfieldian sense, and phonological word.²⁹ I will return to 'Astarâbâdhî for his discussion of another type of affix below (3.5.2.1).

3.5.1.2 Not all morphemes are *kalima*

Secondly, one has "morphemes" in the modern linguistic sense which are not considered *kalima*. Notable here are the inflectional endings ('i^c*râb*, cf. 2.3.1) which while of clear morphological value, and recognized as meaningful by the Arabic grammarians themselves (cf. 2.5) are not *kalima*. Certainly one factor which prevents their recognition as an independent item is that in Arabic orthography in most cases they are represented not by a *ḥarf*, and independent sound or orthographic unit, but by a short vowel diacritic (cf. 2.3.1). Thus, in normal orthography the sentence,

- (31) *hadhâ rajul-u-n*
this man nom-indef

would be written,

- (32) *hdha rjl*

without the nominative *-u* suffix at all.

Furthermore, as noted in 2.5 the inflectional endings have a special status because they signal the syntactic status of a word without altering its basic meaning. Its claim to have an independent morphemic status may thus be limited.

A second class of morphemic items (in the modern linguistic sense, most likely) are the added or non-basic sounds. In defining the basic roots of Arabic the Arabic grammarians distinguished 10 sounds which could be added to a basic root to augment it in some way (Mub I: 56, *Jumal*: 399, Mun I: 98, Zam 357, IY IX: 141, Bohas 1984: 169). These are /l, w, y, ', m, n, t, s, h, â/.¹³⁰ These sounds are not all of equal status in that some have a wider distribution than others. The /s/ for example, occurs as an added sound only in the verbal prefix '*ist-*, '*ista-fhama* "inquire", whereas the /â/ occurs in second position *dârib* "hitting", third *dhahâb* "going", fourth *habalân* "stupidly", fifth *ḥabarkâ* "tall of back, short of legs", and sixth *qab^cathrâ* "a large

camel" (remembering that short vowels do not count as positions). Ibn Jinnī (Mun I: 153, also *Jumal*: 402) defines these in terms of markedness, the least marked having the widest number of positions. He suggests that /w/, /y/ and /ā/ are the basic members of this set ('*ummahāt* "mothers") since they have the widest distribution.

It should be borne in mind that except for /ā/, which is always an added (*zā'id*) sound, a sound can be basic in one context but non-basic in another.

3.5.2 The rationale behind the added letters

Ibn Jinnī (Mun I: 13-17) gives four classes of added sounds; those added for a meaning, those added to lengthen a word (*madda*), those added as appended sounds (*mulḥaq*) and those added to complete a morphological pattern. For the most part I will simplify this into two classes, those added for a meaning and all others. To consider each in any detail would require a greater consideration of Arabic morphological theory than there is time for here. Moreover, one suspects that a closer look would show that even more types than the four given above are necessary to give a complete classification (cf. for e.g. Mun I: 49, 50, *Khaṣ* I: 227 and Bohas 1984: 171 on Ibn Ya'īsh's later method).¹³¹

3.5.2.1 Meaning

The sounds associated with a meaning are for the most part not problematic. Each added sound associated with a definite meaning is identified by that meaning. The only non-basic sound that might not (*Sir*: 562) be associated with some sort of discrete meaning is /l/. Note that many of the sounds have more than one meaning and can occur in more than one position in a word. The following is a representative sample (mostly from Mub I: 56 ff. and *Jumal*: 399; added sounds are in boldface).

(33)			
ā of plural	'awlāḏ "children"	=	'af ^C āl
sounds	ya-ktubu "he writes"		ya-f^Culu
of	'a-ktubu "I write"		'a-f^Culu
imperfect	na-ktubu "we write"		na-f^Culu
tense	ta-ktubu "you/she writes"		ta-f^Culu
passive -t-	'iftaqara "become poor"		'fta^Cala
feminine -t	qā'im-at "standing f"		fā^Cil-at
/w/ of passive	madruwb "beaten"		ma-f^Cuwl
participle			
/m/ of time/	ma-ktab "office"		ma-f^Cal
place verbal noun			
/h/ for emphasis	'irmih "throw!"		if^Cih

Although these sounds are clearly identified as having an independent meaning they are not considered **kalima**, morphemes or words (as seen in 3.5.1.1 both translations apply depending on the context) and indeed with one exception that I will discuss presently, such an identification is not even hinted at. I think there are two major reasons for this. First, a necessary characteristic for a bound form (all **ḥurūf** discussed in this section are bound forms) to have a status as **kalima** is that it occur initial or final. This point is exemplified by the definite article '**al-**' in (29a) which occurs initially and by the pronouns **-ā** and **-ū** (29b, c) which occur finally. This fact I think is related to the importance of an item occurring in contrastive paradigms with free (unbound) morphemes (cf. 2.7). Many of the meaningful sounds occur as infixes (Ibn Jinnī Khaṣ I: 225 argues that this is the unmarked position for them) and in this context quite obviously they cannot substitute with free forms since free forms, by definition, cannot occur inside words.

Secondly, I think the theory of non-basic sounds is so fundamental to Arabic morphology that it would be difficult to identify the meaningful non-basic sounds with another set of bound morphemic elements, the pronoun and definite article (e.g. (29)). This would involve putting say the pronoun suffix **-ū** or **-tu** (2.7 e.g. (57)) and the plural infix **/ā/** in the same class (= class of bound morphemes of modern linguistics). The reason that this is impracticable is that the non-basic meaningful sounds show a structural (morphological) similarity with another class of added letters which I will examine presently (3.5.2.2). This structural similarity takes precedence over any other relations one might seek to establish between the meaningful sounds and other elements in the grammar.

Returning to the question of the status of the added sounds as **kalima**, the late thirteenth century linguist 'Astarābādī directly addresses the question of whether the **ā** in **ḍārib** "hitting" (AP) and other such bound forms can be considered **kalima**. His hypothetical suggestion follows directly his discussion of the bi-morphemic status of words like those in (29), quoted at length above (Q 63 in 3.5.1.1), and I think it likewise deserves extensive citation.

As for the perfect verb like **ḍaraba** "he hit, it is similar (i.e. to bi-morphemic words with 2 **kalima**, as in (29)) because it also is a word whose consonantal sounds sig-

nify the action while the overall pattern added to this, including consonants and short vowels, signify the perfect tense. In this sense the number of sounds along with the short vowels or lack of short vowels placed in a particular pattern constitute a compound word consisting of two parts, each with its own meaning. Similarly, the singular 'asad "lion", with its plural 'usud (or 'usd) "lions" and the diminutive and examples like rijâl "men", and masâjid "mosques", and ḡarib "hitting" (AP) and maḡruwb "beaten" maḡrab "campsite" because in each one there is something which signifies diminutive, and plural, and active participle and passive participle... However, it would not be correct to call these kalima in the way we did above (i.e. in Q 63 p. 115)... The reason for this is obvious: we say a word is composed (murakkab) of two kalima when one follows another sequentially, each with its own discrete meaning, whereas in the case under discussion both parts are heard (and understood) together.^{α 65}

Astarâbâdhî begins his exposition with a subject I will discuss at greater length in 9.2.1. Briefly, in,

(34) kataba "he wrote" or ḡaraba "he hit"

it is held that there are two meanings, the basic meaning or "writing" contained in the root consonants ktb (cf. (17) above) and a perfect tense meaning which is conveyed by the arrangement of short vowels and overall form of the word (cf. (13) above). The question he poses is whether one could not therefore say that there are two kalima in kataba in the same way there are in,

(35) ḡarab-û "they m hit" (= (29c))

He then extends this discussion of the verb to all other cases where a discrete meaning might be linked to an individual consonant and/or to the overall pattern of the word.

(36) 'asad "lion" 'usud "lions" (i.e. pl = u..u pattern)
ghulâm "boy" ghulayyim "small boy" (diminutive = /yy/ + vowel pattern)
rajul "man" rijâl "men" (pl = â + vowels)
masjid "mosque" masâjid "mosques" (pl = -â-)
ḡaraba "he hit" maḡruwb "beaten" (PP = ma- + uw)

His answer is that this identification cannot be made because in,

(37) ḍarab-ū "they hit"

ḍarab and ū can each be identified with discrete meanings and hence each can be called **kalima**, whereas in,

(38) kataba "he wrote"
 'usud "lions"
 etc.

the meaning of "perfect tense" or "plural" is not expressed discretely but rather extends over the whole form.

I return to the implications of Astarābādhi's observations below in 3.7.

3.5.2.2 Non-basic sounds without a meaning

To understand why other sounds are considered non-basic, even if they have no meaning¹³² (**Mūjaz**: 144), one has to appreciate the key positions of the root in Arabic morphology. As the examples in (17) above make clear, the elements which give a central unity to all the various morphological patterns are the root consonants (SM: 108 ff.) and it is the function of morphology to define what the roots are, and subsequently define the total range of permitted morphological patterns (Bohas' **taṣrif** I), taking into account any other material that might be added to the root.

In the case of meaningful non-basic sounds it is easy to distinguish basic from non-basic sounds. The basic sounds carry the central "root" meaning and the added sounds modify this meaning in some way. In other cases, however, it may not be so obvious why a sound should be considered non-basic (and lack a discrete meaning) rather than a part of the root. I think it easiest to illustrate the reasoning behind this by outlining the three methodological practices that are used by Arabic grammarians in distinguishing non-meaningful, non-basic sounds.¹³³

3.5.2.2.1 Meaning

First of all it may be apparent from the meaning of a form that a certain sound is non-basic. Thus, in **kitāb** "book" or **ajuwz** "old person", the roots are obviously **ktb** "writing (cf. 17) and **ʕjz** "be old, feeble". Given this, the /ā/ and /w/ must be non-basic, yet they are not associated with any meaning, either discretely by themselves or in terms of a class meaning they give to the forms they occur in (cf. 3.6). The two forms

here are $fi^c\hat{a}l$ and $fa^c uwl$, with $/\hat{a}/$ and $/w/$ added to the root.

It was a goal of Arabic grammar to reduce everything possible to its absolute basic form, and this leads the grammarians to consider sounds non-basic even when a case could be made for analyzing them as basic. For instance, in

- (39) jadwal "creek, roster" (Mun I: 35)
hawqala "become old" (Ibn Ḥājib *Shāfiya* I: 38)

the $/w/$ both examples is said to be non-basic. In the first the root is jdl "tighten, braid". Ibn Jinnī draws out some semantic similarities between jadwal and the root jdl and concludes that the $/w/$ can be seen as correlating with a semantic modification to the root jdl .

As Bohas (1984: 115) points out, Astarābādhī, correctly I believe, did not accept that jadwal is semantically related to jdl . He nonetheless agrees with Ibn Jinnī, and Arabic grammarians in general, that jadwal is formed by a derivational process. This derivation, however, is of a special type called *ilhāq* "attachment, appendage", which for some later grammarians at least (e.g. Astarābādhī) was based on purely formal, non-semantic grounds.

Bohas (1984: 106-116) has a succinct summary of *ilhāq*. There are two types, both of which involve the adjunction of a consonant to a root. One type, involving suffixation, I exemplify briefly in 3.8 below. The other involves the infixation of one of the non-basic sounds (cf. 3.5.1.2) within a root, and is exemplified in (39).

What is not immediately clear is why an example like jadwal or hawqala should be derived by *ilhāq* rather than simply considered to have four basic consonantal roots of these patterns (like $ja^c far$ "brook", $xalba\hat{t}a$ "mix up" = $fa^c lal(a)$). This point is not explicitly discussed in the literature (I believe), though a number of points are implicit. First, the form jadwal does not have many related forms -- its *taṣrīf* is limited; secondly, as noted above briefly (3.5.1.2) the $/w/$ is among the basic types of non-basic sounds, and so on principle perhaps the Arabic grammarians were inclined to regard any occurrence of $/w/$ or $/y/$ in a root as non-basic.¹³⁴ Thirdly, I noted there was a desire to reduce the grammar to its basic parts, and three consonantal roots are less marked than four consonantal ones (Khaṣ I: 56 ff, Mehiri 243 ff.). Fourthly, as Bohas (1984: 113) suggests, this device in theory provides a way to account for the differential behavior of similar

forms. In **hawqala** the sequence **awC** stands; in **sâhama** "participate" from the underlying form **sawhama**, the sequence **awc** yields a long/â/. This differential behavior of the **awc** sequence is explicable by assigning the /w/ a different morphological status in each. In **sawhama** it is liable to undergo certain phonological rules; in **hawqala** however, the /w/ is added to the root **hql** by the morphological process of **ilhâq**, and sounds so added are exempt from most ordinary morphophonological rules (Bohas 1984: 110).

I would add one caveat to this fourth point: although in theory the point is a valid one, it is not clear whether the Arabic grammarians in fact postulated underlying forms of the **sawhama** type (rather than simply **sâhama**). Bohas (1984: 108, 112) is not wholly explicit here.

In any case, considering all these factors the logic of postulating a special class of derivational forms is put into better perspective.

3.5.2.2.2 Morphotactical constraints

Secondly a sound may be considered non-basic because the morphological structure it occurs in does not otherwise exist. On these grounds the /t/ in **turbab** "jasmine" (eg. Bohas 1984: 179) and /n/ in **narjis** "narcissus" are considered non-basic because no nouns of the form **fu^Clal** or **fa^Clil** otherwise exist. These are considered to have the form **tuf^Cal** and **naf^Cil** (Mun I: 104).^{α 66 135}

Similarly, when Ibn Jinnî discusses the form **'aydi^C** "a red dye" (Mun I: 100, also Khaṣ II: 56 for similar discussion), to find out whether the // or the /y/ is the non-basic sound he appeals to general syllable structure conditions: 'a frequently has the status of an added sound initially, /y/ rarely does when it occurs second, so it is more likely that // is added and /y/ basic (= **'af^Cal**). He then corroborates this observation by showing that related derived forms (**mushtaqq**, cf. 3.5.2.2.3) occur without the //, **yadda^Ctuhu** "I dyed it red" = **fa^Cal-tuhu**.^{α 67}

3.5.2.2.3 Derivation (**ishtiqaq**)

Finally, the behavior of a root in its various derivational forms can show a sound to be basic or non-basic. For example, **mi^Czâ** "goat f" is said to be of the pattern **fi^Clâ** (Mun I: 35), with the final /â/ non-basic because one derives other forms from this root the /â/ disappears.

- (40) $\frac{ma^{C}{ma}i^{C}{z}}}$ "goats" = $\frac{fa^{C}{fa}i^{C}{l}}}$
 " " " " " "

The argument for distinguishing a class of non-meaningful elements can be summarized as follows: given that the Arabic word is based on three (less commonly 4,5) consonantal roots, and given that these roots form a finite set of patterns, then in certain forms one has to accept that there are sounds which are not basic to the root, even if they have no independent meaningful value themselves.

This claim is a reasonable one, even if one might question its application in certain instances (cf. discussion of *jadwal* (39) above).

Before moving on one final point should be made. The non-meaningful added sounds are actually rather rare in terms of frequency of occurrence. Indeed it is a tribute of the fastidious detail that the Arabic grammarians paid to their language that what really is a somewhat marginal phenomenon should be given such detailed treatment (in Ibn Jinnî's *Munşif* in particular) and underlines the point that the Arabic grammarians brought all aspects of the Arabic language within their theoretical frame of reference.

3.5.3 Other morphological patterns

Different morphological patterns can be created not only by the addition of added sounds (both meaningful and otherwise), but also simply by changing the shape (*binâ'*) of a form by changing the short vowels. For example, from the root *ktb* "concerning writing" one has (from Wehr, and *Muḥîṭ*: 769),

(42)	<u>kataba</u>	"he wrote"	=	<u>fa</u> ^C <u>ala</u>
	<u>kutub</u>	"books"		<u>fu</u> ^C <u>ul</u>
	<u>katb</u>	"writing"		<u>fa</u> ^C <u>l</u>

all without added letters.

3.6 The *Tasrîf* of a root

The *taṣrîf* of a root can now be seen to consist of the total range of morphological patterns, whether created by the addition of added sounds or not, which a consonantal root is associated with. The range of patterns is lexically determined so that it will vary from root to another. For example, in Wehr's dictionary for the root *ktb* "writing" no form of the shape *'if^Calla is listed, though this does occur for another root, *hmr* "relating to redness", 'ihmarra "become red".

The total range of patterns in Arabic are summarized by the Arabic grammarians and so far as possible typical (though not necessary) class meanings are associated with each of these patterns. Indeed, Ibn Ya'ish (SM:

95) notes that the basic function of **taṣrīf** is to provide characteristic forms for a characteristic meaning.^{α 68} These meanings may involve syntactic and/or semantic correlates (Bohas 1984: 45, 55, 62).

For the verb and noun the following types of classes were recognized¹³⁶ (Mub I: 71 ff., II: 102 ff. for verbs, Ibn Fâris 369, 374 for nouns/verbs, Ibn Jinnî Khaṣ II: 153 ff. for nouns/verbs, Mun I: 74 ff. for verbs, Zam 258 ff. for verbs). Some of the patterns are associated with more than one meaning and here I will give only a representative sample.

- (43) fu^cila passive verb kutiba "be written"
fa^cula intransitive verb karuma "be generous"
fa^cala perfect tense kataba "he wrote"
yaf^culu imperfect tense yaktubu "he writes"
fa^cala intensity of kassara "smash"
fa^cala action, transitizer (< kasara "break")
'a-f^cala transitizer 'a-krama "honor s.o."
fâ^cala reciprocal kârama "vie in generosity"
ta-fâ^cala reciprocal, ta-nâqala "report to
fa^cala intransitive of fâ^cala each other"
ta-fa^cala undergo ta-kassara "be smashed"
fa^cala action of
'ist-f^cala estimation 'ista-fhama "inquire"
'in-fa^cala passive 'in-kataba "become written"
'ifta^cala passive or 'intaqala "move" (intr)
fa^cala intransitive (muṭâwi^c) to basic form

In 6.4-6.6 it will be seen that some of these patterns (especially causatives and passive) are closely linked with syntactic processes by Arabic grammarians.

- (44) Nouns
fa^cul intensity of darûb "one who hits often"
fa^câl action (mubâlagha) qattâl "deadly"
fa^cal-ân movement nazaw-ân "sortie"
fa^cl-ân adjectival sakr-ân "drunk"
fa^cal pain or pleasure waja^c "pain"
'a-f^cal colors, defect 'a-hmar "red"
'a-hwal "cross-eyed"
fu^{cc}âl defect or remedy khummar "hangover"
fa^cal-â quickness jamaz-â "quick"

Another association is that between the singular and plural patterns of nouns. (Mub I: 195 ff., IS II: 452 ff.). 'a-f^cul for example is a "plural of paucity" for nouns such as kalb "dog" (fa^cl) and qit^c "piece" (fi^cl), while fi^câl is a "plural of quantity" for nouns such as kalb and rajil "man" (fa^cil).

of a language like Turkish (e.g. (46)).

At the opposite extreme are examples,

- (49a) kataba "he wrote"
- b) 'usud "lions"
- c) 'aklub "a few dogs"
- d) kilâb "dogs"
- e) maktuwb "written"

Ibn Jinnî (Khaṣ II: 481) was one of the first linguists to draw attention to the special status of morphemic elements in the passive participle (49e). He contrasts this example with,

- (50) 'uskuwb "flowing freely"

where he notes that in maktuwb the /w/ is associated with the meaning "past participle", though only in conjunction with the prefix ma-.^{α 69} By contrast in 'uskuwb the /w/ has no meaningful value because 'u-...w together do not give a discrete meaning.

In Ibn Jinnî's formulation there are suggestions of a discontinuous morpheme, ma...w "past participle", made up of two discrete parts. Carried further, this analysis could conceivably lead to the extension of the term kalima = morpheme even to morphological material which is not linearly adjacent. However, Ibn Jinnî does not develop such an analysis in any generality, nor do his immediate successors.

Over two hundred years later 'Astarâbâdhî discusses similar examples, but comes up with a rather different solution. The relevant quote is given above in 3.5.2.1 (Q 65 p. 118). He addresses the question of whether in examples like (49a-e) one can speak of two discrete kalima, two morphemes, in the way one can in 'al-rajulu (e.g. 29, 48).

(51)

<u>kataba</u>	=	<u>ktb</u>	"relating to writing"	+	vowel pattern	=	perfect tense
<u>'usud</u>		<u>'sd</u>	"lion"				plural
<u>'aklub</u>		<u>klb</u>	"dog"				plural of paucity
<u>kilâb</u>		<u>klb</u>					plural of quantity
<u>maktuwb</u>		<u>ktb</u>	"writing"		+	vowel pattern and prefix	= passive participle

His answer, as seen above, was "no" because in a form like 'usud "lions" the signs of plurality and the root meaning are simultaneous rather than discrete. The

word 'usud represents "lion/plural" at one and the same time. This analysis can be compared to the second of Matthews' morphemic analyses the word and paradigm model, where the various morphological elements have their exponence in their realization throughout the word rather than in one discrete place, and may share their phonological realization with other meanings.

For Astarâbâdhî then, the Arabic language requires different approaches to morphological analysis according to the particular type of data considered.

3.8 Morphology as a generative system

There is no doubt that the morphological system was regarded as a generative system, one which not only accounted for all existing morphological patterns, but also allowed the speakers to apply the rule to create new patterns as they needed them. I will illustrate this with two examples. First, in some cases it might be necessary to add a syllable to a word for some purpose, for example to create the correct metrical effect in poetry (Mun I: 41 42, Bohas 1984: 110). To create this extra syllable, a process called 'ilḥâq, one takes a form (e.g. daraba "he hit") and adds an extra syllable, usually by doubling the final consonant, while staying within the permitted syllable patterns of the language (= darbaba "he hit"¹³⁷ = fa^clala). Indeed, so important is this in morphology that the entire third book of the **Munṣif** and part of the second is devoted to illustrating hypothetical patterns. For instance (Mun II: 242) if you are given the form ramâ "he threw" and needed to create a form analogous to 'ighdawdan "become greener" what would it be? To answer this one has to analyze the form 'ighdawdan into its basic and added sounds = 'i-f^caw^cala, do the same for ramâ (ramaya = fa^cala) and then add the necessary sounds to ramâ to get the analogous form:

- (52a) 'i-ghdawdana
- b) 'i-rmawmaya (---> 'irmawmâ by rule (15a) above)
- c) = 'i-f^caw^cala

Such rules become extremely complicated¹³⁸ when one takes into consideration the morphophonological rules that may have to be applied in the course of creating these new forms. Indeed, one finds Jurjânî (Dal: 24), who lived shortly after Ibn Jinnî, having to defend linguistics against the charge of engaging in exercises of little practical merit when it insists on applying such morphophonological rules to their logical conclusion, and somewhat later Ibn Maḍâ (p. 138) suggests that they be banished from the study of Arabic altogether.

Similarly one may want to find the diminutive or broken plural of a form like *jaḥnafal* "thick"¹³⁹(Khaṣ III: 113). To get a diminutive or broken plural of words with five or more consonants it is generally the case that non-basic sounds are first dropped.¹⁴⁰ This gives **jaḥafal*, since the /n/ is a non-basic sound (is *zā'id*), but *jaḥafal* is not an attested pattern in the nouns of Arabic (**fa^calal*) so before the diminutive or plural is formed the pattern must be changed to (*nuqila*) to a similar one which does exist, i.e. *jaḥfal* (= *fa^clal*, as in *tarjam-a* "translation f") and the diminutive/plural formed from this.

- (53) *juḥayfil* "thick/dim" (cf. *turayjima* "small translation")
juḥāfil "thick/pl" (cf. *turājim* "translations")

3.9 Compounding (*tarkīb*)

A final aspect of morphological analysis in Arabic theory is compounding (*tarkīb*). This involves the joining of two words together to form a unit that is like a single word. The effect of the compounding process must be to change the status (*ḥukm*) of the constituent words in some way. The difference between compound and non-compound words can be exemplified as follows.

- (54a) *hā-dhā* "this"
 b) *khamsata^c ashar* "15"

Both examples have words of two morphemes (ignoring the feminine -t of *khamsata*). In (54a) there is *hā* "warning" (*ḥarf tanbīh*) which otherwise occurs independently, and -*dhā* "this", also an independent morpheme. Here the two occur together and are written as one word, but do not form a compound word because there is no change, syntactic or morphological, between *hā* + *dhā* as single words and as one (orthographic) word.

Khamsata "5" and *ashar* "10" occur as independent words, but whereas *khamsat* is a regular inflected noun by itself, taking nominative, accusative and genitive case inflections, in (54b) when it occurs with *ashar* it invariably ends in -a (*mabnī^c alā l-fath*). *Khamsata^c ashara* is thus a compound noun whose inflectional status changes in the course of compounding.

3.10 Summary

I will end this chapter by very schematically summarizing the basic elements of morphological theory.

- (1) There is a root which carries the basic lexical meaning consisting of 3, 4, or 5 consonantal

sounds and which is realized by some morphologically-defined pattern. To this can be added:

- (2) non-basic sounds which can be either,
 - (a) meaningful, or
 - (b) non-meaningful, and/or
- (3) morphemes (sg. **kalima**) with an independent syntactic status, and/or
- (4) another word to form a compound.

The notion of discrete morpheme can be applied to (3); the root and consonantal patterns (1, 2) do not lend themselves to such a treatment, as some Arabic linguists realized, instead deriving their semantic and syntactic value from the overall structure of the morphological pattern.

Various morphophonological rules may apply at any point, though different morphophonological rule are typically associated with the different morphological components: the formation of the basic morphological patterns (1), addition of non-basic sounds (2), addition of morphemes (3) and compounding (4).

WORD CLASSES

One of the best known precepts of Arabic grammar is the tri-partite division of words into nouns ('asmā'), verbs ('af'āl) and participles (ḥurūf). The very first grammarians (e.g. Sībawaih) simply assumed these divisions and illustrated them with examples without specifying the characteristics of each.¹⁴¹ Among later grammarians (e.g. from Mubarrad I: 4) considerable attention was given to identifying the defining properties of each class. In justifying this classification Arabic grammarians drew on arguments from all levels of analysis -- phonological, morphological and semantic. In this chapter I will first outline what these criteria are,¹⁴² and then I will discuss three sub-classes of words and their classification in order to show that the basis of word classification rests on a detailed consideration of many different grammatical properties.

4.1 Phonological

Phonologically nouns are said to end in a vowel (the vowel of inflection, 'i^crāb, cf. 2.3.1) while verbs and particles (Ṣaymarî 78) end in a consonant in the unmarked instance.¹⁴³

- (1a) al-rajul-u
the man nom "the man"
- b) 'ijlis "sit down!" (imperative)
- c) min "from"

This phonological criterion often breaks down, however. One has, for example,

- (2a) man "who?" (noun ends in -C)
- b) yaġlis-u (verb ends in -V)
- c) li (participle ends in -V)

Various explanations are given for these exceptions, two of which (covering (2a, b)) will be discussed in 8.6.1 and 8.6.2, though on the whole there are as many cases that fall outside the rule (e.g. (1))

as fall within it, which makes the phonological criteria the weakest of the four types.

4.2 Morphological

More important are the remaining three types of criteria (the following three sections based on IS I: 38 ff. Zajjâjî Id: 48-55, Fârisî As: 68-79, Ibn Fâris 89-93, Baṭalyûsî 59-79 and Anbârî Asrâr: 10 ff.).

4.2.1 Nouns

- (a) Occurrence with the definite article. al-rajulu "the-man"
- (b) Occurrence with indefinite -n (tanwîn).
rajul-u-n
man -nom-indef
- (c) Dual. rajul-âni "two men"
men 2
- (d) Plural. 'al-zayd-ûna
pl "the zayds"
- (e) Diminutive. ruwayjil "a small man"
- (f) For an adjective with -i suffix. zayd-i "like Zayd"
-adj

4.2.2 Verbs

- (a) Occur with the pronominal suffixes -â "dual", -u "plural", -tu "I", and the feminine marker -at.
- (3) dhahab-â
2 "they 2 went"
dhahab-û "they went"
dhahab-at "she went"
- (b) They are mutaṣarrif, i.e. they have a set of related morphological forms (cf. 3.3.2).
- (4) dhahaba "he went", yadhabu "he goes", dhâhib "going" (active participle), madhhab "opinion", etc.

4.3 Syntactic

Syntactic criteria include the following.

4.3.1 Noun

- (a) Occurrence with a genitive particle. min zaydin "from-Zayd"
- (b) Occurrence with a modifier (na^ct). rajulun Āqilun "an intelligent man"
- (c) Can be predicated of (yuşnadu ilayhi, cf. 6.6.1/ yukhbaru anhu "reported about"; less commonly yuhad-dathu anhu "can be spoken about") and can be used as a predicate (i.e. in non-verbal sentences, yuşnadu / yukhbaru bihi).
zaydun rajulun "Zayd is a man".

- (d) Occurrence with the vocative yâ zaydu "Oh Zayd"!
 (e) Can occur at agent and object positions (cf. 2.7,
 Q 33, 35, 72 and Frank 1975: 285)¹⁴⁴

ḡaraba zaydun rajulan
 hit zayd man "Zayd hit a man".
 Agent Object

- (f) Can pronominalize

zaydun ḡarab-tu-hu
 hit I him "As for Zayd, I hit him".

- (g) Occur possessed (as muḡāf)

ghulāmu l-rajul-i
 boy def man gen "the boy of the man"

It can be pointed out here that the category "noun" includes common and proper nouns and also numerals, adjectives, demonstratives, pronouns and relative pronouns. The basic criterion is substitutability at subject and object positions where all of these items can occur (cf. Q 72 p. 128 and 2.7 e.g. (57)) for an explicit example).¹⁴⁵

4.3.2 Verbs

For verbs the most important syntactic criterion that Anbārī gives (As: 11) is that they occur as predicate **musnad/muxbar bihi/ḡadīth** (cf. n. 227) (also cf. Fārisī Id: 76). Other criteria are the following: they occur with the non-governing particles **ḡad** "might, perfective", **sawfa/sa-** "future", and with governing particles 'an "subjunctive", 'in "conditional", and lam "negative". Also, they occur with the temporal nouns **ghadan** "tomorrow" and **amsi** "yesterday".

- (5) ḡad dhahaba "he has gone"
sawf yadhhabu "he will go".
yastatī 'u 'an yadhhaba
 can that go -subj "He can go".
'in tadhhab 'adhhab
 if I go "If you go I'll go".
lam yadhhab
 not "He didn't go".
yadhhabu ghadan
 tomorrow "He'll go tomorrow".
dhahaba amsi
 "He went yesterday".

4.4 Semantic (cf. Frank 1975: 272 ff.)

4.4.1 Nouns

Semantically nouns are defined variously as forms which:

- (a) refer to bodies/individuals ('**ashkhāṣ**)
 (b) refer either to bodies or non-bodies (=verbal nouns)

- (c) can be predicated of
- (d) have non-temporal meaning
- (e) refer to a fixed referent at the time one uses the noun^{α 70}

4.4.2 Verbs'

Verbs are defined as referring to an action (*ḥadath*) and a past or future time, or as words used to modify (*waṣafa*) something but which cannot be modified themselves.

4.4.3 Particles¹⁴⁶

Finally, particles are defined as words which have a meaning by virtue of referring to something else.

I have given relatively little space to the characteristics of participles because they are a heterogeneous class which have almost no uniquely defining morphological or syntactic characteristics. Syntactic criteria can be used to define sub-classes of the particles, as when Anbârî (As: 12) divides them between those that do not (cf. 2.8), though such criteria do not set them off from the other classes (because verbs also govern but nouns basically do not in this particular example; cf. 2.4). In many accounts (e.g. Luma^c 91, IH QN: 36) they are simply defined as what have neither the characteristics of noun or verb.^{α 71}

4.5 Problems in the criteria

The Arabic grammarians were fully aware that in searching for formal and semantic parameters for classifying words they had to find characteristics which were (1) unique only to the members of that class. Zajjâjî's definition of the noun makes this position clear. "A noun in Arabic is what is agent or object or what occurs in the context of agent or object... No noun lacks this characteristic, and nothing that is not a noun has this characteristic".^{α 72}

To distinguish verbs from nouns, for instance, they note that a noun can serve as subject (agent) but a verb cannot (IS I: 39, In: 7).

- (6) dhahaba zaydun "Zayd went".
- but * dhahaba yaqûmu
- went get up "get up went"

Similarly, verbs do not take the definite article, nor do they occur as object of preposition, nor do nouns occur with *sawfa*, and so on for the criteria listed in 6.1.-6.4.

- (7) *al-yaqûmu
 def get up "the get up" (stress on up)
 *marartu bi yaqûmu "I passed get up"
 *sawfa rajulun
 future man

However, while the criteria work in the clear cases, there are on the one hand sub-classes of items they do not work for, as the Arabic grammarians were well aware.¹⁴⁷ For example, the "verb" *ḥabbadhâ* "how nice" lacks all the morphological characteristics of verbs (As 11, 12, IH QN: 26). There are nouns which cannot occur with the definite article and the indefinite -n (the pronouns); there are verbs which do not occur with *qad* or *sawfa* (*ḥabbadhâ* again and the verbs of exclamation, cf. 4.8); there are nouns which do not occur modified or as possessed (*mudâf*, pronouns again); not all nouns refer to individuals (4.4.1a) since verbal nouns do not, and so on to cite but a few of exceptions.

On the other hand there are criteria which succeed only in distinguishing one of the three classes against one of the other two, but not against both. For instance, not only nouns, but also particles (e.g. definite article) have a non-temporal meaning (4.4.1d), and like verbs, particles do not refer to individuals (4.4.1a). Like verbs, temporal nouns (cf. 4.6.1) can be used to modify but are not modified themselves (Iḍ: 53); active particles, a type of noun for the Basrans (4.7) occur with time adverbials in the same way verbs do (4.3.2; Ibn Fâris: 93).

Thus, of all the criteria, very few actually succeed in distinguishing their classes uniquely. I think perhaps the best (by consensus of the Arabic grammarians) are the following.

For the verb, an item that can be predicate, but cannot be predicated of (4.3.2, Fârisī Iḍ: 76, As: 12, In: 7)^{α73} and also an item that has both the meaning of action and time (4.4.2; IS I: 41, Iḍ, 52, 53,^{α74} Ibn Jinnī Khaṣ III: 98, 99). This latter semantic definition distinguishes it on the verbal noun, which represents a timeless action, and from temporal nouns (like *'amsi*) which represent only time.

For the noun I think the best criterion is occurrence as object of a preposition (perhaps originally due to Mubarrad I: 4).¹⁴⁸ Zajjājī (Iḍ 51, 52) I think effectively deals with a counterexample like *kayfa* "how" which never occurs with a preposition.¹⁴⁹ He says that this is a question for the function condition (*ḥâl*) (Ap 3.2.1, cf. 2.3.4.1.1), and at this syntactic position one never finds prepositions anyway, so one would not expect

it with **kayfa**.

Ibn Fâris (91; wrongly I believe) ignores this explanation and suggests that his semantic definition (4.4.1 e, cf. Q 70) is the best, though he says only this is "near" (i.e. to being correct).

Even so there are nouns which do have unique distributions.

(8) yâ hanâh "you so and so! hey you"!

Hanâh occurs only in vocatives. Şaymarî (353) rationalizes this by noting that one finds in vocatives what one does not find elsewhere (also Baṭalyûsî 59 ff.), though it still stands as a conterexample.

For the particle the negative definition discussed in 4.4.3 (Q 71) became a standard one.

4.6 Sub-classes

Morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria were also used to define sub-classes. I will not go into great detail here, because under the careful examination of the Arabic grammarians the three individual word classes became perhaps more notable for their internal differences than for their coherency as classes. Moreover, it has been established that the word classes are defined by the intersection of criteria from all parts of the grammar, so that to define any qua word class or sub-class implies a discussion of quite a large segment of the grammar, and takes one into points covered in later chapters.

To give some idea of the issues involved I will discuss three sub-classes of items. One will also note the implications for sub-division of word classes in much of the material in the other chapter. I might caution that since some of the discussion involves points elaborated on in later chapters, the readers might want to delay these sub-sections until later.

The three classes are circumstantial nouns (adverbs, (**ḍhurûf**), the active participle, and the 'verb' of exclamation. I have chosen the circumstantial nouns because they provide a good illustration of the importance of syntax in word classification, the active participle because it illustrates a class of words with a clear gradation between verbal and non-verbal properties, and the 'verb' of exclamation because it can be used to provide a detailed illustration of the type of argumentation that went into the Kufan-Basran debates (as idealized by post-ninth century grammarians, cf. 1.2.1).

4.7 The circumstance (Ḍharf)

The circumstance (Ap 3.1.3) Ḍharf first of all designates a class of words which tell in which place something lies or where or when an action takes place.^{α75} Another name for this class is the maf^cûl fîhi "the object in it" the object which tells where and when an action occurs (IS I: 228, As: 177).

In the earlier delimitation of this class (Mub IV: 338, IS I: 228, Luma^c: 140^{α76}), words of this class cannot be marked by a preposition like fî "at" but instead serve as direct dependents of the verb. Mubarrad (IV: 348) thus argues that jawfa "inside" is not a circumstance because it requires fî.^{α77 150}

- (9a) *zaydun jawfa l-dâr
 inside def-house
zaydun fî jawf-i l-dâr "Zayd is inside the house"
 at inside-gen house

Cf.

- (10a) zaydun khalf-a- ka
 behind-acc-you "Zayd is behind you m".
 b) *zaydun fî khalfi-ka
 at

For Mubarrad¹⁵¹ the circumstantial nouns are distinguished from nouns which though designating an area, refer to a circumscribed one. Circumstantial nouns by contrast designate a general area (cf. also Mûjaz: 36, Fârisî Iq 641, following Sarrâj). Khalf for example is an area behind; dâr "house" on the other hand is a specific place with specific dimensions and hence is not a circumstantial noun (and thus must be used with fî).¹⁵²

4.7.1 Ḍharf "circumstance" as word class vs. functional category

With this class lexical and functional terminology are confounded by the Arabic grammarians (Diem 1970, Mosel 1975: 346). Ḍharf/maf^cûl fîhi¹⁵³ can refer to the word classes sketched above, or to the functional category which that class realizes.

Zubaydî (KW: 48) illustrates this point most clearly when he defines three classes of words which govern the genitive case: prepositional particles like min "from", bi "by meaning of", nouns (ism) like mithl "like", and ba^cd "some of", and circumstantial words (Ḍhurûf) like khalf "behind" and taḥt "beneath". Noun is opposed to circumstance as one word class to another, a point which requires explanation if it is to square with the tri-partite division of words into noun, verb and particle.

There is no place for a fourth class, like circumstantials, though Sarrâj (IS I: 235-236) does seem to suggest that the Kufan linguists Kisâ'i and Farrâ' had this in mind (cf. n. 156 below).

The impetus for distinguishing a new class of words opposed to nouns is clearly syntactic. The Arabic grammarians note that certain words are either restricted exclusively to certain positions or typically occur at these positions. Thus, a word like ^Cind "at" for Mubarrad (IV: 340) only occurs as a circumstantial object, while words like **khalf** "behind", **yawm** "today" and **'amâm** "in front" typically do (Sib I: 170 ff., Zub KW: 48, ^CLuma: 139, 140). Conversely for Mubarrad a word like **dâr** "house" or **jawf** "inside" cannot occur as circumstantial object, (cf. e.g. (9) above), while they do occur as object, agent, or topic. This distributional difference is clearly the basis of the noun-circumstance (**ism-dharf**) difference qua lexical class,¹⁵⁴ as Diem (1970) has noted. A noun, **ism**, is a word that occurs as direct object, agent or topic, a circumstance **dharf** one that occurs in the syntactic position of **dharf** (circumstance).

As noted above, words like **khalf** "behind" and **yawm** "day" occur in any syntactic position, and these are said to be (qua word class) either noun (**ism**) or circumstance (**dharf**) (Mub IV: 328 ff, Zam 55). Mubarrad goes to some pains to illustrate the distributional freedom of words of this type.¹⁵⁵ They occur as topic (**mubtada'** Ap. 2.1) just as a "noun" does.

- (11a) yawm-u l-jum^Cati sirtu fîhi (Mub IV: 328, 330)
 day nom Friday went I in-it
 "Friday was when I went".

- cf. b) zayd-un marartu bihi
 nom
 "Zayd was the one I passed by".

- (12a) xalf-u- ka wasî^Cun
 behind nom you wide "The area behind you is wide"

- cf. b) zayd-un muntaliqun
 nom "Zayd is leaving".

They can become the derived agent in the passive construction (6.5.1)

- (13a) sîra bi zaydin 'amâm-u- ka (Mub IV: 332)
 gone in front nom
 "With Zayd it was gone in front of you".

- cf. b) ḍuriba zayd-un
 -nom "Zayd was hit".

As circumstantial objects they are governed by the verb in

the accusative just as a noun occurring as direct object is (Mub IV: 341, cf. 6.1).¹⁵⁶

4.7.2 Semantic unity, syntactic distinction?

Diem (1970 part 4) has discussed these points in relation to Sībawaih and concludes that the contrast noun-circumstance (**ism-ḡharf**, qua word class) is a syntactic one (cf. 4.6.1.1) but that there is no distinction between them at a semantic level where they are both types of nouns.

Diem is clearly correct about the syntactic basis of the distinction and certainly later writers (Ibn Jinnī **Luma'**: 140, Ṣaymarī 304, Zam 55 -- cf. n. 154 --, IH QN: 231) had no hesitation in considering them a sub-class of noun.

However, one can ask whether the semantic-syntactic contrast was considered as such by the Arabic grammarians themselves. As will be seen in chapter 9, this was in general not a strictly observed working distinction: the syntactic categories of agent, object, circumstance and so on were equally viewed, at least in the ideal situation, as semantic categories as well. This is not the place to discuss Diem's suggestions in detail, since his study is based mainly on Sībawaih, though it is relevant to note that Sībawaih never gave a general definition of "noun", preferring instead to identify this class by example, and even later grammarians had difficulty in reaching a satisfactory semantic characterization of them (cf. 4.5). Moreover, Sībawaih himself seems to correlate the syntactic contrast with a semantic one. He says that words like **khalf** "behind" and **taḥt** "beneath" are "nouns which, however, can take the place of things" (I: 177).^{α78} It is not entirely clear what he means by the position of things ('**ashyā'**; though this is essentially what is found in Zamakhsharī's summary discussed in note 154 above) but a guess is that some nouns (**ḡharf**) mark a place as well as serving typical functions of topic/agent, while some nouns only have the latter function. If this is the case, then one has the following schema.

(14) ism "noun" =	
Semantics	Syntax
"things" (' ashyā')	----- topic/agent
"circumstantials" (ḡhurūf)	----- circumstance (ḡharf)

There are two semantic classes of nouns, "things" and circumstantials (**ḡhurūf**). "Things" typically occur as agent or topic, circumstantials in the syntactic position of circumstance (**ḡharf**), though some circumstantials also

occur as topic or agent.¹⁵⁷ In this interpretation the distributional distinction would mirror the semantic one.

Certainly in Mubarrad (IV: 342) the difficulty of accounting for the idea in (14) in terms of a syntactic contrast and a semantic unity is quite clear. He notes that if the word **wast** "middle" takes a preposition it then loses the "meaning" of circumstance.^{α 79}

- (15a) huwa wast-a l-tariq "He is in the middle of the
 he -acc road **wasṭa** = circumstance road"
 b) fi wasat-i l-baṭn "in the middle of the
 in middle-gen def-stomach stomach"
 wasat = noun, loses meaning of circumstance

For Mubarrad the noun-circumstance distinction is not only a syntactic (distributional) difference, but also a semantic one.¹⁵⁸

4.7.3 Mubarrad's treatment

It will be instructive to consider Mubarrad's formulation in more detail (Mub IV: 328-358). He divides the circumstantial words into two classes, those which occur as both "noun" and "circumstance", which he calls **mutamakkin** "strong, proficient" (e.g. **khalf** "behind", **yawm** "today") and those which occur only as circumstance (**ghayr mutamakkin**, e.g. **cinda** "at (chez)", **haytha** "where, wherever").

It is not entirely clear what Mubarrad means by **mutamakkin** here (cf. 4.7.1.4 below). He seems to be following Sībawaih (I: 173, 175) who notes that some circumstantial nouns have the property of "**tamakkun**" "control ability" more than others, which is to say that some of them are more likely to occur as agent or topic than others. For Sībawaih (also Ṣaymarī 312) the property of "**tamakkun**" is a scale, where no nouns are entirely restricted to the syntactic position of circumstance. Mubarrad, however, argues that **cinda** "at" and **haytha** are so restricted.¹⁵⁹ He says that what distinguishes them from the other circumstantial nouns (those which are not distributionally restricted) is that they do not designate a specific area: **cinda** "at, about" is opposed to say **khalf** "behind", which is a definite direction.¹⁶⁰ Whatever the reason for the distributional restriction, the significant point is that Mubarrad can still consider **cinda** and **haytha** nouns because although they do not occur in the position of agent or topic, which for Mubarrad apparently was an important criterion for nounhood (cf. e. g. (11, 12)), there is a specific independent reason for this restriction. There is no distributional basis for distinguishing a new class of words, the circumstance,

because circumstantial nouns like **khalf** "behind", **taḥt** "beneath" and **yawm** "today" can occur not only as (syntactic) circumstance, but also as topic or agent, a criterial distribution for nouns (**ism**). **Ḥinda** "at", and **ḥaytha** "wherever" in theory can occur as agent or topic as well, except that they are prevented from doing so by the fact that they are **ghayr mutamakkin**.

The picture that emerges in Mubarrad is that the noun-circumstance, **ism-ḡharf** contrast, qua word class, represents a sub-classification of nouns, where the sub-classification rests on distributional grounds: circumstantial nouns are those that occur in the syntactic position of circumstance, as well as topic and agent; nouns (**ism**) are those that only occur as agent and topic.

At the same time, the inclusion of all these words within the general class of "noun" (**ism**) also rests on distributional grounds: all occur as agent or topic, unless they are prevented from assuming these positions by an independent constraint (that which determines a noun to be **ghayr mutamakkin**).

4.7.4 The meaning of mutamakkin for the circumstantials

As I mentioned above, it is not entirely clear what Mubarrad means by **ghayr mutamakkin**.¹⁶¹ Nouns are usually said to be **ghayr mutamakkin** when they are invariable in case form (i. e. **mabnī**, cf. 2.6). A word like **man** "who" is **ghayr mutamakkin** "invariable" because it does not vary for case. **Ḥinda** and **ḥaytha** come close to fitting this description, except that a noun is **ghayr mutamakkin** for a specific reason. This reason is usually that it contains (**taḡdammana**) the meaning of the particle 'a "yes-no" question (cf. 8.6.2).

The reasoning is as follows: a particle is invariable in form, and when a noun includes the meaning of a particle it too becomes invariable. **Man** "who?" for example, is invariable because it "contains" (**taḡdammana**) the meaning of 'a "yes-no marker" (cf. 8.6.2).

Mubarrad (III: 171 ff.) follows this explanation for the invariability of form in nouns, but does not apply it to **Ḥinda** or **ḥaytha**; that is, he nowhere says that **Ḥinda** is invariable because it contains the meaning of a particle.¹⁶² Rather, as seen above, in this context he appears to mean by **ghayr mutamakkin** "restricted to a single syntactic position". This is quite different from **ghayr mutamakkin** = "invariable in form" in the morphological sense. A word like **man** "who?" is invariable in form, but, as Mubarrad points out (III: 172), it has the full distributional privileges of a noun, occurring

in the context of regularly inflected nominative, accusative and genitive nouns.

Mubarrad's use of **mutamakkin** = "full distributional privileges of nouns" seems not to have been subsequently adopted by most grammarians.¹⁶³ Ibn Jinnī (**Luma'**: 140), Zamakhsharī (55) and Ibn Hishām (QN: 231) all simply consider **ḥinda** a noun.

Ṣaymarī (306) and Zamakhsharī (55) distinguish **ḥinda** as one of a class of nouns (including **ḍuhan** "forenoon", **masa'** "afternoon") which occur only in the accusative (**naṣb**) case and account for its distributional restriction to the syntactic position of circumstance by the fact that it only has an accusative case (i.e. its morphological defectiveness limits its syntactic distribution). Because of this it cannot occur as derived agent (e.g. (13)) above and 6.6.1) for example, since that category requires a nominative noun (Ṣaymarī 308, 528, IY II: 42, Ast I: 188).

4.7.5 Later accounts

Some later grammarians (Ṣaymarī 304 ff., Zamakhsharī, 55)¹⁶⁴ amend Mubarrad's account to include in the class of circumstantial nouns (**ḍhurūf**) not only locative nouns which can occur as direct accusative dependents of the verb, like **khaif** "behind" and **yawm** "day", but also nouns with a locative meaning but which require a prepositional marker, like **dār** "house" and **masjid** "mosque". Ṣaymarī distinguishes these as **mubham** (governed directly by a verb) and **mukhtaṣṣ** (requiring a prepositional governor). In this conception a sentence like (9b) or one like,

- (16) zaydun fī l-dār
in house "Zayd is in the house".

would have a circumstantial complement just as (10a) does,

- (17) (=10a) zaydun khalfaka "Zayd is behind you".

Here, perhaps more so than in Sībawaih and Mubarrad the circumstantials are distinguished on a semantic basis.

4.8 The active participle (AP)

The active participle is a form related to a verb (IS I: 144, **Jumal**: 84, **Zam** 226).

For the Kufans the active participle was a type of verb, fitting into a three-termed tense system:

- past (**māḍī**) daraba "he hit"
present (**dā'im**) dāribun "hitting" (AP)
future (**mustaqbal**) yadrubu "he will hit/hits"

Its verbal characteristics include the ability to govern an accusative complement, its meaning, which indicates an uninterrupted action occurring at the present time, and its commutational properties, where it occurs in the same context as verbs.

- (18a) huwa dāribun zaydan "He is hitting Zayd". (AP)
 b) huwa yadrubu zaydan "He is hitting Zayd". (verb)
- (19a) marartu bi rajulin dāribun zaydan
 passed I by man gen hitting (AP)
 "I passed a man hitting Zayd". (AP)
 b) marartu bi rajulin yadrubu zaydan
 hitting (verb)
 "I passed a man hitting Zayd".

The Basrans (Sīrāfī the elder, quoted in Zajjāfī's **Idāh**: 86 n. 1) rejected this claiming that the active participle was a noun, noting that it had typical nominal characteristics including (4.2.1, 4.3.1): occurrence with the definite particle (**al-**), the indefinite **-n** (**tanwīn**), occurrence as possessed (**muḍāf**) and as governor of a genitive complement.

- (20a) huwa l-dāribu l-rajula 'amsi
 he def hit(AP)def man yesterday
 "He is the one who hit the man yesterday"
- b) huwa dāribu-n zaydan ghadan
 -indef tomorrow
 "He will hit Zayd tomorrow".
- c) huwa dāribu zayd-in 'amsi
 hit Zayd-gen
 (possessed)
 "He hit Zayd yesterday".

They further argued that from the fact that the active participle had certain verbal characteristics (which the Basrans acknowledged to be the case, IS I: 144ff.) it did not automatically follow that it was a verb. If one followed this line of reasoning strictly, then in the case of the particle '**inna** "indeed", for instance, which governs one noun in the accusative and the other in the accusative and the other in the nominative, one would be obliged to call it a verb, since it has verbal governing properties.

- (21) 'inna zaydan muntaliqun (cf. 2.3.6.1, 7.8)
 indeed Zayd-acc leaving-nom
 "Indeed Zayd is leaving".

Sīrāfī presents a number of such arguments, all intended to show that verbal characteristics which the active participle has are not sufficient to justify its being considered of the class of verbs.

the AP has singular form in the same way an incomplete verb would.¹⁶⁶

- (24c) marartu bi gawmin yaḍrubu-hum 'ukhwatuhum
hitting-them (sg)

"I passed some people whose brothers were hitting them"

There are two further complications to the governance properties of the AP and their correlation with aspect.

First, it can happen that the genitive construction has the status of incomplete rather than complete verb (Mub IV: 149, IS I: 149, 150, Zam 82, 83), though only when the complement is indefinite.

- (25) hal 'anta bā^Cithu dīnārin li- hājatinā
Q you sending dinar-gen to need our
'aw abda rabbīn 'akhā awn bin mikhrāq
acc brother

"Are you sending a dinar to help us, or Abu Rabb, the brother of Awn bin Mikhrāq?"

In the first line of this poem, bā^Cithu dīnārin is in a possessive relation, though the meaning is future.

This is explained as follows. The indefinite -n is dropped from *bā^Cithun (AP) for "simplicity" ('istixfāfan, i.e. morphologically less complex? cf. ML: 663), and as soon as the indefinite -n is dropped, the following noun will immediately assume genitive form. That is, the process motivating this change is the deletion of the -n (bā^Cithun---> bā^Cithu), and this in turn automatically triggers the following genitive.^{α 80}

This construction occurs only if the meaning is the same as if the indefinite -n had not been deleted. Sarrāj underscores this point in his example (25), where abda in the second line is also object to bā^Cithu. Syntactically it should also be in the genitive, but because the meaning is indefinite it takes the accusative form, as if one said bā^Cithun abd-a rabbīn "sending Abdu Rabb" (IS I: 150).

4.8.2 Irregularities

A second set of irregularities is illustrated in the following (IS I: 152, 153).

- (26a) huwa l-dāribu zaydan
he def-hit (AP) acc
"This is the one who will hit Zayd".

- b) hum l-dārib-ūna zaydan
they hit (AP)-pl
"They are the ones who will hit Zayd".

Sarrâj concludes "...just as the **-n** (of (29a)) can stand with the definite article, so can the genitive occur with the definite article" (26c; IS I: 153).^{α 81 169}

This reasoning may be attractive, though it is not convincing. The plural suffix **-ûna** also occurs in other types of nouns, e.g. **muslimûna**, and here the definite article does not occur with **-n** + genitive complement.

- (30a) *'al-muslim-ûna l-bilâd-i
 def muslim pl cities gen
 muslim-û l-bilâd-i
 pl gen
 "the Muslims of the cities" (Ap 1.5.1.2)

This rule only works in the context of the active participle, as Mubarrad (IV: 146) would appear to concede.

The case of (26d) is explained by reference to another related construction.

- (31) huwa l-ḥasan-u l-wajh-i "He is handsome of
 he def-good-nom def-face-gen face".

(26d) resembles (31), and the combination of '**al** + noun (**ḍâribu**) + **al** + genitive in (26d) is said to be based on an analogy with (31) (IS I: 153, Ibn Jinnî Khaṣ I: 183, 304). (31) is a complicated structure in its own right, and a full explanation would take up more space than there is time for here (cf. Carter 1972a for the basic background). It can be noted, since reference will be made to (31) in the next section, that the relation between '**al-ḥasanu** **l-wajh-i** is the same as that between '**al-ḍâribu** **l-rajul-i**. That is, both **ḥasan** and **ḍârib** are nouns derived from verbs and both can govern an accusative complement as well as genitive, so that besides (31) one has,

- (32a) huwa l-ḥasan-u l-wajh-a
 def def -acc "He is the handsome of
 face".

parallel to,

- (32b) huwa l-ḍârib-u l-rajul-a (=26a)
 nom def-man-acc
 "He is the one who will hit the man".

Finally, (26e) (cf. Mubarrad IV: 145, Ṣaymarî 221, 222, Baṭ, 217, ML: 842), a rather rare example (Fârisî Iḍ: 529) and one not discussed (avoided?) by Sarrâj, though attested in poetry, has an accusative complement to a dual AP, whose final **-n** has been deleted as if in a possessive construction (cf. e.g. (26c and Ap. 1.5.1.2). This deletion of **-n** is explained as simplification (**takhfifan** "lightening")

Anbârî (In: 126-148, # 15) discussed this debate in detail, and I think it will be instructive to reproduce much of his presentation in order to give an insight into the style of the **Inṣâf** and the richness and precision of its argumentation. This particular question is interesting (though not unique) in that it involves arguments from the

levels of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. I will follow Anbārī's own order in summarizing this argument, which is to present the Kufan arguments first,¹⁷² then the Basran, including any Kufan counterpoints to the Basran arguments, and to conclude with the Basran refutation of the Kufan positions.

4.9.1 Kufan arguments

(1) 'aḥsana "good" (= 'af^Cala) is not mutasarriḥ (cf. 3.3.2). It has a single fixed form and unlike other "verbs" does not have perfect/imperfect/verbal noun/AP/PP and other derived forms. In this respect it resembles nouns, which also tend to have either a single form, or a relatively limited number of related forms (especially, only diminutive/plural forms).

(2) These verbs have a diminutive form, and the diminutive is associated exclusively with nouns.

(36) yāmā 'umayliḥa ghizlānan shadan-na lanā
 how pretty/dim gazelles weaned f/pl for-us
 "How pretty are women (poetic image) weaned for us".
'umayliḥa = diminutive of 'amlāḥa "beautiful"

(3) Where the C₂ of the root = w/y, the w/y does not change form when it is followed by /a/. This is typical of nouns (Mub I: 109, 111, Mun I: 274 ff.) but contrasts with verbs, where in this context the sequence w/y + /a/ gives /ā/ (Mub I: 104, Mun I: 267, 268).

(38) 'aqwama ---> 'aqāma "make s.o. stand"

(4) The interpretation of

(39) mā 'aḥsana zaydan "How good Zayd is"!

is, according to the Basrans,

(40) shay'un 'aḥsana zaydan "Something made Zayd
 s.t. make good zayd good".

However, given this interpretation, then

(41a) mā 'a^Cdhama allāha
 great God "How great God is"!

would be,

(41b) shay'un 'a^Cdhama allāha "Something made God
 great"!

which is impossible, since nothing made God magnificent.

4.9.2 Basran arguments

In favor of the verbal interpretation the Basrans give three arguments.

(1) The first person object in this context is **-nî**. The first person object has two forms, **-nî** after verbs, **-î** after nouns.

- (42) ra'â-nî "He saw me".
bayt-î "my house"

In the class of words under dispute, the **-nî** form is used.

- (43) mâ 'aḥsana-nî "How good I am"!

The Kufans refute this noting that there are in fact nouns which take **-î**.

- (44) qaṭ-nî "beware of me"

to which the Basrans reply that such nouns are exceptional and that in any case, (a) they have the semantic value of imperative verbs, hence the use of the verbal variant **-nî**.

- (45a) qaṭ-ka min zaydin = 'ikfif bihi
you from zayd refrain him
"Finish with him".

(b) One can equally use the **-î** marker here.

- (45b) qaṭ-î

In this respect they contrast with **'aḥsana**, which only allows the verbal variant.

(2) Secondly, in a direct object the choice of definite or indefinite is free, and this is the case in the current example.

- (46) mâ 'aḥsana l-rajul-a "How good the man is"!
def acc
mâ 'aḥsana rajulan "How good a man is"!

However, if they are considered nouns, then the accusative complement must be a specifier (cf. (35)) and specifiers are only indefinite (Ap 3.2.2, Mub III: 32, IH QN: 237), hence the nominal analysis of (35) does not work.

The Kufans reply that one does have examples from poetry of definite specifiers (**tamyîz**).

- (47) al-shu^Cri l-riqâb-a
def hairs def neck-acc "hairy of neck"

Shu^Cr is the plural of the **'af^Cala** form **'ash^Cara** "hair" and it governs a definite accusative noun in (47).

The Basran rejoinder here is that the accusative can be explained by reference to the construction,

- (48) 'al-ḥasana l-wajh-a (cf. 4.8.2 e.g. (31, 32))
nice def-face-acc "handsome of face"

In this construction one has a noun ḥasana governing a definite noun in the accusative,¹⁷³ and the example of (47) is formed by analogy with this. They conclude this argument by noting that examples of a definite specifier construction are rare in attested texts, and in the case of inherently definite specifiers like pronouns, personal names, and demonstratives, non-existent.

(3) 'af^cala has the form of a past verb, cf. 'akrama "be hospitable". If it were a noun, then in,

(49) mā 'aḥsana zaydan
good "How good Zayd is!"

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one would expect a nominative comment, *'aḥsan-u.

Defending the nominal status of 'aḥsana, the Kufans say that 'aḥsana is invariable in form (mabnī, 2.6) because like other invariable nouns (cf. 8.6.2) it contains the meaning of an unexpressed particle (4.7.4): mā "how" is invariable because it contains the meaning 'a "yes-no question"; mā "whatever" (conditional) contains the meaning of 'in "if", and in like fashion 'aḥsana contains the particle meaning "exclamation".

The Basrans reply that in the following two sentences it is mā "what/whatever" that contains the 'hidden' particle.

- (50a) mā taf^calu
what you-do "What will you do?"
b) mā taf^cal ('af^cal) "Whatever you do (I'll do)".

By the same reasoning in

(50c) mā 'aḥsana zaydan

mā should contain the meaning of "exclamation" rather than the 'verb' 'aḥsana.¹⁷⁴ But in this case if mā, not 'aḥsana contains the meaning of the particle, then there is no reason for 'aḥsana to be invariable in form, since invariability in nouns correlates with the inclusion of the meaning of a particle. Hence they conclude that the form 'aḥsana is accounted for by assuming that it is a past tense verb.

4.9.3 Basran rejoinders

Anbārī ends by replying to the original Kufan points. (1) The Basrans acknowledge that 'af^cala is invariable, but note that there are verbs, accepted as such by the Kufans, which are similar in this respect. ^cAsā "maybe" and laysa "be not" (cf. 3.3.2 e.g. (20)) are also invariable (ghayr mutaṣarrif). Thus, "the fact of invariability does not prove that they (verbs of exclamation)

are nouns" (In: 138). Anbârî goes on to give a reason for their invariability. In meaning they are restricted to describing a current state of affairs and if they were variable (*mutaṣarrif*) they would have meanings associated with the different forms (perfect, imperfect, active participle), which would be impossible.

(2) The Basrans give three explanations for the existence of a diminutive, of which I will summarize two.¹⁷⁵ They say that the 'verbs' of exclamation are correlated (*ḥamlan* ^c*alâ*) with nouns of comparison, with which they share both a common form and a meaning, that of "emphasis" or "comparison" (*tafḍīl*).

- (51a) *mâ 'aḥsana zaydan* "How good Zayd is!"
 b) *zaydun 'aḥsan-u l-qawm-i*
 best-nom def-people-gen (comparative)
 "Zayd is the best of the people".

The comparative noun has a diminutive, and the 'verb' of exclamation takes its diminutive by analogy with this.

- (52a) *ghulâmuka 'uḥsayin-u l-qhulm-an*
 best/dim-nom def-boys-acc
 "Your boy is the best (diminutive) of boys".
 b) *mâ 'uḥsayina zaydan*
 "How good (diminutive) Zayd is".

They note that the similarity between the forms is a close one, to the extent in fact that those forms that do not have a comparative noun form also do not have a verb of exclamation.

- (53) **'a^craja l-qawmi* (*'a^craj* "lame" not used as
 lame comparative or verb of
 **mâ 'a^craja zaydan* exclamation)¹⁷⁶

Secondly, the fact that the verb of exclamation has a nominal trait (diminutive)¹⁷⁷ does not prove anything, since an item can have a characteristic of another class without it being a member of that class. ^{α 82}

(3) In regards to the Kufan point about phonological form, the Basrans note that there are in fact verbs which, exceptionally, do not undergo the rule *w/y + /a/* ---> *â*.¹⁷⁸

- (54a) *'astahwadha* "overcome"
 b) *ḥawilâ* "become cross-eyed"¹⁷⁹

Anbârî also again notes that an item's conforming to some of the traits of another class does not prove it is of that class.¹⁸⁰

(4) Finally, the Basrans explain the meaning,

- (55) *shay'un' 'a^cdhama llâha* "Something made God great"

should not be interpreted literally, but rather should be taken as a factual statement ('ikhbâr) "How great God is!", with the special exclamatory form employed for rhetorical emphasis (mubâlagha). They note that while nothing can prevent the word *allâha* from being employed in this or any other syntactic construction, the meaning intended does not necessarily have to be that typically associated with that construction (cf. 9.2.2).

4.9.4 Conclusion

Anbârî decides in favor of the Basrans, though he presents the issues and arguments with enough clarity that the modern reader can still exercise his or her own judgment.¹⁸¹ I would tend to give the edge to the Kufans. The phonological argument and most of the arguments concerning morphological form favor a nominal analysis, and I think the Basran appeal to the comparative noun (4.9.3, point (2)) as an analogical link for the diminutive form in the 'verb' of exclamation only tends to reinforce the Kufan claims that it is a noun (cf. also note 38). The syntactic arguments perhaps favor the Basrans, though if one accepted the Kufan analysis involving a definite specifier it would not be the only place in the grammar where a rather marked construction entailed a unique syntactic analysis (4.9.2, point (2)).

In any case, the important point here is not who won the argument, but rather the demonstration that the Arabic grammarians recognized the existence of difficult, borderline cases, and applied general linguistic principles in resolving them.

THE NOUN PHRASE

5.1 What is a noun phrase and what does it do?

Under the influence of transformational-generative syntax the term 'noun phrase' has become quite well established in modern linguistic terminology. For our purposes of comparative linguistic theory, however, rather than assume this structural unit or give it one formal definition or another, it is better to ask what a noun phrase (NP) does,¹⁸² what its function is. It could turn out that a linguistic theory could do without the noun phrase as a structural unit, and yet describe the data in as economical a form as a theory which uses the notion of NP.

The function of a noun phrase is to define the distributional coherency of a group of items which characteristically occur together. Thus, in the following set of sentences, "a very big balloon" can be observed to act as a unit in that it moves as a whole in the different constructions.

- (1a) I saw a very big balloon
A very big balloon was seen
It was a very big balloon that I saw
What I saw was a very big balloon

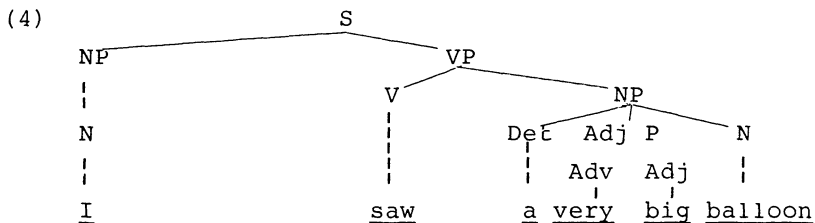
Moreover, if one tries to move any of the parts of this group alone, the result will be incorrect.

- (2) *I balloon saw a very big
 *Very big was seen a balloon

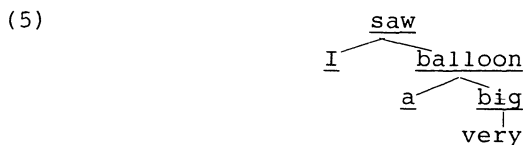
The prime justification for recognizing the unit NP is thus distributional.

The notion of NP was developed as a formal construct within the framework of constituency grammar (Wells 1947, Chomsky 1957). I defined the basis of constituency grammar in 2.9.2 above. Items are related to each other by virtue of their inclusion in a larger whole. "A very big balloon" receives its distributional coherency because

(3) NP ---> Det Adj P N
Adj P ---> Adv Adj



Now, the question is, is this the only way that the coherency of the unit "a very big balloon" can be represented? The answer is 'no'. As seen in chapter 2 another way of representing relations between items is in terms of dependency relations. In dependency terms the example cited here would be as follows (Tesnière 1959).



(6) A very big balloon was seen

5.2 The noun phrase components in Arabic theory

Before doing this, however, it is relevant to ask what structural classes one might expect to be included in the noun phrase in Arabic theory, what items contract

relations within a noun phrase. The obvious answer is that one should look at the noun-noun relations in Arabic theory (as opposed say to verb-noun relations, which are 'constituents' of the sentence). Jurjânî summarizes these succinctly in the introduction to his *Dalâ'il* (f-q) defining which nouns are related (*mu'allaq*) to each other.

- (7a) Topic and comment (*muḥtada'* and *khavar*; Ap 2.1)
- b) Noun-modifier (*matbū^c-tābi^c*; Ap 5)
- c) Noun-possessor (*muḍāf-muḍāf 'ilayhi*; Ap 4.2)
- d) Noun-condition (*ism-ḥāl*; Ap. 3.2.1)
- e) Verbal nouns-its complements (*maṣḍar-ṣila*)
- f) Active/passive participle-complement (Ap 6.2.2, 6.3.2)
- g) Noun (specified)-specifier (*mumayyaz-tamyīz* or *tabyīn*; Ap 3.2.2)

The topic-comment relation (cf. e.g. (1a, 2a) in 2.1.1) is a predicative one, so this does not count as a relation in terms of the noun phrase. I will not deal with the special problems of nominalizations (7e) in this study, nor with the AP/PP-noun relation (7f), though this is touched on in 4.8. This leaves cases (7b-d) and (7g).

The condition *ḥāl* concerns sentences like,

- (8) *jā'a zaydun rākib-an*
 came zayd riding-acc "Zayd came riding".
 ḥāl

The question is, should *rākiban* be considered in a construction with *zayd* or with *jā'a*, or with both? I think the third is the best answer, though I would claim that in Arabic theory it is more closely linked to the verb than to the agent *zayd*. The following points are relevant (Zam 61 ff., IY II: 55 for general discussions).

(1) It is of the category *faḍla* "optional item" (cf. 2.4.2), a category which includes optional sentence level elements (the modifiers, for example, discussed below (2.3.2) are not *faḍla*, though they are optional items).

(2) The condition is said to resemble the circumstantial (locative) object (*ḍharf* or *maf'ūl fīhi*, 4.6.1) in meaning, being paraphrasable as *fī ḥāl x* "in the condition of x" (e.g. *jā'a zaydun fī hadhihi l-ḥāl/fī ḥāli rukūbin* "Zayd came in the condition of riding"). In this sense it modifies the verb in that it describes the situation the action takes place in (Mub IV: 300).

(3) Related to the second point, one of the earlier grammars (Zajjājī *Jumal*: 35) regarded the *ḥāl* as one

of the types of objects (cf. 6.1), where the objects are all in a direct relation to the verb.¹⁸³

(4) The condition is considered a types of secondary comment (**khābar**, IS I: 259, Jurjānī Dal: 133). In (8) **rākiban** acts as a second predicate to **zaydun**.¹⁸⁴

(5) It is governed by the verb in the accusative.

(6) It can be fronted before the verb (**rākiban jā'a zaydun**) a possibility not open to noun modifiers (unless the modified item is fronted as well).

The main evidence for its status as a noun modifier is that its function is to describe (**waṣafa**) either the agent or the direct object of the sentence. It acts as a secondary comment to this noun, as noted in (4) above.

I would suggest that formally the condition is sentence level item, while semantically it is linked to both a noun, an agent or object, and to a verb as their modifier. I would note that Jurjānī (Dal, introduction) considers the **ḥāl** to be in relation to the verb.

The second problematic case concerns the **tamyīz** or specifier. Two types can be distinguished (cf. also Zam 213).

(9a) ^Cishrūna dirham-an "20 dirhams"

dirham acc

specifier

b) taṣabbaba l-faras-u ^Caraq-an "The horse dripped
dripped def-horse-nom sweat-acc sweat".

specifier

In the case of (9a) there is a significant difference between Sībawaih and the later grammarians. In Sībawaih (I follow Carter 1972a here) the specified item governs the specified in the accusative, as one noun to another. In (9a) ^Cishrūna governs **dirhaman**. This construction is like that of a possessed noun to a possessor (5.3.1) except that the genitive case, the usual case of the possessor, is prevented from occurring by the -n of ^Cishrūna. The reasoning runs as follows. This -n is said to resemble the indefinite -n (**tanwīn** Ap 1.5.1.1.1, cf. 2.7.3), where the indefinite -n acts as a barrier (**faṣl**) to a possessive complement. Thus just as one cannot have

(10a) *ghulāmu-n zayd-i- n
boy indef gen-indef

so also one cannot have,

(10b) *^Cishrū-na dirham-in
20 -n gen

with a genitive complement to **ghulāmu-n** and ^Cishrū-na.

Among the later grammarians the generalization was formulated that all accusative case forms are due either to the influence of a verbal governor (Mub IV: 299) or to something which has the meaning of or resemblance to a verb (Mub II: 32, Ibn Kaysân 110, *Inṣāf*: 50).¹⁸⁵ Accordingly, in (9a) the accusative is said to be due to the governance of *ʿishrūna*, but only because *ʿishrūna* resembles the active participle, which in turn resembles a verb. *ʿishrūna* governs in the accusative, though only through this resemblance (Zajjājī *Idāh*: 135, Zam 65, *Asrār*: 198).

Jurjānī, (Muqt: 580 ff., Dal introduction, following Fārisī *Id*: 579, also Zam 65) distinguishes (9a) from (9b) in that in (9a) one noun is related to another, while in (9b) a verb (*taṣabbaba*) is related to the specifier as its governor. In the first case, (9a) the specifier completes the noun (i.e. takes a position analogous to a possessor), while in (9b) it completes a sentence (*kalām*, i.e. serves as a verb complement).

Thus, (9b) is a relation of verb to noun; (9a) for many grammarians (Sībawaih, Mubarrad, Sarrāj, Fārisī) is clearly a relation of noun to noun while for others (Zajjājī, Zamaḥsharī) the relation may be mediated via a resemblance to a verb.

In the following I shall follow the earlier grammarian: and include examples like (9a) among the noun phrase relations. I will, however, leave the condition (*ḥāl*) out of further discussion pending further clarification of its status.

5.3 Noun-noun relations

It is now possible to summarize the (non-predicative) noun-noun relations in Arabic grammatical theory. I will first discuss them individually, and then consider to what extent the noun phrase was treated as a coherent unit by the Arabic grammarians (5.4).

The noun phrase relations can be summarized as follows

- (11a) specified + specifier (cf. (9a) and attendant discussion)
 ʿishrūna dirhaman "20 dirhams"
 specified specifier
- (11b) possessed (muḍāf) + possessor (muḍāf 'ilayhi)
 thalāthatu rijāl-i- n "three men"
 3 men gen indef
 sadīqu rajul-i- n "a friend of a man"
 man gen indef

- (11c) the various modifiers (tawābi^C)
zaydun il-^Cāqil-u "the intelligent-Zayd"
 def intelligent
marartu bi rajul-i- n dharīf-i- n "I passed a
 passed I by man-gen-indef kind-gen-indef kind man"
 d) relative pronoun (ism mawṣūl) + relative clause
 (ṣila)
'alladhī ra'aytu-hu zaydun "The one I saw is
 who saw I him Zayd".
 rel pro rel clause

As will be seen, the relative clause technically can be subsumed under (11c), though given its prominence in modern western grammatical theory I think it will be of interest to discuss it separately.

In the rest of this section I will look more closely at the possessed-possessor (11b), noun-modifier (11c) and relative clause (11d) relations.

5.3.1 Possessed-possessor

Nouns are related directly to each other as possessed (muḍāf) to possessor (muḍāf 'ilayhi), where the possessor takes the genitive (-i) case form.

- (12) ghulāmu rajul-i- n "a boy of a man"
 boy man gen indef

However, the status of the possessed (muḍāf) as governor (ḥāmil) of the possessor is not straightforward. Mubarrad (IV: 136 ff.) considers noun-noun and genitive particle-noun relations to be types of possessive ('iḍāfa) constructions. In

- (13) li rajul-i-n "for a man"
 for man gen indef

- (14) min rajul-i-n "from a man"

rajulin is said to be a possessor of a particle, li, min. The possessive construction is thus seen as a cross-categorical construction in which the 'possessed' can be either noun or genitive particle. Grammarians after Mubarrad (e.g. IS I: 497) distinguish the two constructions as possessive vs. prepositional genitive ('iḍāfa vs. majrūr bi ḥarf jarr),¹⁸⁶ though still they are both discussed within the same major section.

Possessive relations like (12) are considered equivalent to preposition + genitive constructions of the type,

- (15) ghulāmun li rajul-i-n "a boy of a man"
 boy for man gen-indef

294, Ibn Hishâm QN: 287; Mubarrad IV: 281 ff. on agreement in definiteness).¹⁸⁹

- (19) 'al-rajul-u l-dharif-u
 def man nom def nice nom "the nice man" (nom)
'al-rijâl-u l-dhurafâ'-u
 men nice/pl-nom "the nice men" (nom)

I will discuss the descriptive adjective in more detail in section 5.4.2.2.

The conjunct (^Catf or ^Catf al-nasq) is a noun which occurs after one of ten (Ibn Jinnî Luma^C) coordinating conjunctions, the most basic of which is **wa** "and".

- (20) jâ'a zaydun **wa** ^Camrun "Zayd and Amr came".

The emphasis (**ta'kid**) consists either of a small set of nouns like **nafs** "self", **kull** "all", or simply repeats the modified noun (or verb; **ta'kid lafđhî**, emphasis by form/pronunciation).

- (21a) jâ'a zaydun nafs-u- hu
 self nom-his "Zayd himself came".
 b) jâ'a zaydun zaydun "**Zayd** came".

The explicative (^Catf bayân) specifies the modified noun by identifying one from a group (cf. Talmon 1981).

- (22) marartu bi walad-i- ka zayd-in
 passed I by son gen your gen
 "I passed your son Zayd".

Here one identifies which son of many is intended by identifying him as Zayd (cf. below, this section).

The permutative (**badal**) is a noun which in some way completes and complements the meaning of the modified noun. I will give only two examples here, though anywhere from four (Mubarrad) to six (Ibn Hishâm) are recognized.

- (23) 'akaltu l-raqhif-a thulth-a- hu
 ate I def-bread-acc third acc its
 "I ate a third of the loaf of bread".
'a ^Cjaba-nî zaydun ^Cilm-u- hu
 pleased me nom nom his
 "Zayd pleased me with his learning".

The various sub-classes of the modifiers are defined lexically, morphologically, semantically and syntactically, some examples of which I will give here. Lexically the emphasis (**ta'kid**) is restricted to a very small class of nouns, or to a copy of the preceding noun (e.g. (21b)). Morphologically the ^Catf bayân, explicative, and the permutative (**badal**) must be underived nouns (**ghayr mushtaq**), while the na^t, descriptive adjective, must

be derived from a verb, or must be able to be construed as derived. Semantically the explicative and permutative are distinguished in that the explicative picks out one from many while the permutative has the same unique referent as the noun it modifies. In,

(24 = (22)) marartu bi waladika zaydin "I passed your son Zayd".

Anbārī (As: 296) explains that Zayd is explicative if Zayd is one son of many. However, if 'you' have only one son, Zayd would be permutative (*badal*) since it simply adds information about the same referent.¹⁹⁰ Syntactically the *catf*, conjunct, is distinguished from the others inasmuch as it must occur with a conjunction, while the emphasis, unlike the permutative and descriptive adjective and conjunct, occurs only with a definite noun.

I would note that the distinction between *tawābi*^C "modifiers" on the one hand and other complements on the other recalls in some respects the distinction between attributes (= *tawābi*^C) and complements (= other complements) made in categorical grammar (e.g. Frosch 1978), and also that between endocentric and exocentric constructions.

The analogy does not carry through completely, however. The test for attributes (endocentricity) is that a combination of two items should yield an item of the same class as one of the two items; noun + possessor noun for example has the same syntactic value as N alone, so a possessor has the value of an attribute. In Arabic theory this identification is not made formally (possessors are not considered *tawābi*^C) because, as seen above, the case value of possessors (= genitive) is different from that of modifiers (= variable form).

5.3.3 The relative clause

The relative clause (Mub I: 19, Ibn Kaysân 119, IS II: 271-344, Zubaydī KW: 130, Zam 141 ff., IH QN: 100 ff.) has the structure:

(25) relative pronoun (*mawṣūl*) + dependent sentence (*ṣila*)

The dependent sentence must have a resumptive pronoun referring (*ā'id*) to the relative pronoun.¹⁹¹

(26a) *ā'id*

'alladhī	ra'ay-tu-hu	muḥammadun
who	saw I him	

"The one whom I saw is Mohammad".

This is nearly the structure of other constructions involving dependent sentences: a **ṣila**, dependent sentence, occurs after the nominalizer 'anna, and the complements of a nominalized verb (verbal noun) are also considered to be part of its **ṣila**. (in boldface in following).

- (26b) balagha-nī 'anna zaydan qāma
reached me that got up
"I was informed that Zayd got up".
- c) balaghanī qiyām-u zayd-in 'amsi¹⁹²
getting-nom gen yesterday
"I was informed of Zayd's getting up yesterday".
(Zayd's getting up reached me)

The difference between them is that in the case of the relative clause there must be a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause which refers back to the relative pronoun (-hu in (26a)). Both have in common the structure

- (27) x + **ṣila** (x = relative pronoun/nominalizer)¹⁹³

The relative pronoun is a type of noun, so in (26a) one has the structure, Topic = 'alladhī + Comment = muḥammad.

The standard treatment of relative clauses in most grammars is to introduce them in sentences such as (26a), which is equivalent to a headless relative clause in English. The antecedent is the relative pronoun itself, rather than another noun in the sentence. This treatment allows the grammarians to accommodate another type of relative clause (IS II: 340).

- (28) yu^cjibu-nī mā shtaray-tu-hu
pleases me what bought I it
"What I bought pleases me".

The words mā "what", man "who", and 'ayy "which" serve as relative pronouns (as well as Q words and conditionals) and in this function there must generally be a coreferential pronoun in the relative clause (= -hu in (28)) referring to them.

The type of relative pronoun in (26a), but not that in (28) can also serve as a descriptive adjective modifier (na^ct/ṣifa) to a definite noun (cf. e.g. (32) for constraints on definiteness). Thus in the sentence,

- (29)
- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------|---|---------|
| | cā'id | | | | |
| | ┌───────────┐ | | | | |
| 'al-rajul-u | lladhī | ra'ay-tu-hu | muḥammadun | | |
| def man | nom | who | saw | I | him |
| Topic | na ^c t/adj | | | | Comment |
| | mawṣûl-ṣila | | | | |
| "The man whom I saw is Mohammad". | | | | | |

'Alladhī is an adjectival modifier to 'al-rajulu; its *şila*, dependent sentence, is *ra'aytuhu*, which contains a resumptive pronoun referring to 'alladhī (cf. (26a)).

Therefore, while the internal structure of relative clauses is different from other modifiers, in distributional terms relative clauses are simply a sub-class of the adjectival modifiers (*na^Ct/şifa*; i.e. when they do not occur as headless clauses).

A dependent sentence without the relative pronoun also occurs after an indefinite noun, as an adjectival modifier (*na^Ct*). It has the same constraints on the need to have a co-referential resumptive pronoun in the dependent clause. In this case though it refers to the antecedent noun (my summary, not that of the Arabic grammarians).

(30)

$$\overbrace{\text{marartu bi rajul-i- n } \dot{\text{daraba-hu}} \text{ zaydun}}^{\text{S = na}^{\text{C}}\text{t/descriptive adj}}$$
 "I passed a man whom Zayd hit".

For most grammarians, however, this is not treated in the same way as the *x* + *şila* constructions of (24-27).¹⁹⁴ Rather, the entire relative clause is considered a sentential modifier (*na^Ct*) to the noun (*rajulin*; IS II: 23, 24, 30, Şaymarī 183, 517, IH QN: 287).

This treatment leads to a partially incoherent analysis of relativization, separating sentential complements of definite and indefinite nouns. However, it does have a certain logic to it: if relative clauses were treated as a coherent class on the basis of requiring a resumptive coreferential pronoun, then the complementizer (*x*) + S *şila* structure of (26b) would have to be given a different analysis. As it is, both relative clause modifiers of definite nouns and complementizer + S constructions have the form *x* + *şila* (dependent sentence), as explained in (27).

5.4 The noun phrase as a unit

At this point it is appropriate to ask the question what the status of the noun phrase is in Arabic theory, whether such a category exists.

5.4.1 Informal evidence

5.4.1.1 Phrase level vs. sentence level

There are a number of pieces of evidence suggesting that a noun phrase unit exists at least as an informal unit. First note that in one case there is an implicit distinction between sentence and noun phrase level when Sarrāj (I: 375), Fārisī and Jurjānī (e.g. (9))

distinguish two types of specification (**tamyīz**) constructions, one that completes a noun (9a) and one that completes a sentence (9b).

(31a = (9a)) ^Cishrūna dirhaman completes noun
20 dirham

(31b = (9b)) taṣabbaba l-farasu ^Caraqan completes S
"The horse dripped sweat".

For the most part this is not a distinction consistently drawn, and as seen in Jurjānī's summary of noun-noun relations he also includes the predicative topic-comment construction (e.g. (7a)) among the N-N relations. Towards the end of the period covered in this study one does find Astarābādhī distinguishing between predicative and non-predicative noun-noun relations in slightly more general terms (SK I: 8^α 84) though the distinction is not formalized beyond the observation that there are two general types of noun-noun relations.

5.4.1.2 Substitution

A second type of evidence which points to the noun phrase as a structural unit is substitution (cf. 2.7.1), where quite frequently noun-noun relations are shown to be construed as a single noun (Carter 1973a). Sībawaih (I: 178, also IS II: 234. In: 365) for example, when discussing the noun-descriptive adjective (**na^Ct**) relation

(32) marartu bi rajulin dharīfin
man nice "I passed a nice man"

says that the noun and adjective are "like a single noun".¹⁹⁵ Similarly Mubarrad (IV: 143) notes that in the possessive relation "...the second (i.e. possessor noun) serves to complete the first (possessed), and the whole unit becomes like a single noun."^α 85 (also In: 349, 431).

The unitary, word-like status of the possessed + possessor is further noted by Mubarrad (IV: 143, also As: 31) He explains that there are three complementary elements that can be added to a noun: nunation, the indefinite -n suffix (**tanwīn**) which is the mark of indefiniteness (cf. Ap 1.5.1, 1.5.2).

(33a) rajul-u-n
man nom indef "a man"

(33b) 'al-rajul-u
def man nom "the man"

and a possessor (**mudāf 'ilayhi**).

(33c) ghulāmu zayd-in
boy gen "Zayd's boy"
pssd pssr

The three, the indefinite **-n**, the definite article, and having a possessor are mutually exclusive -- a noun can never have more than one of them (cf. 1.6, e.g. (7), 4.8.2 for irregular cases). This explanation reinforces the unitary, word-like status of the possessor + possessed unit. The indefinite **-n** and the definite article **al-** are categories which apply to a simple word as affixes, and in like fashion the fact of being possessed applies to a word, though it implies the addition of another word, the possessor.

Zajjāji summarizes this as follows (Iḏāḥ: 110), "the possessor takes the place of the indefinite **-n**." ^{α 86} That is, the possessor, which has the status of a noun, substitutes for the indefinite **-n**, which is a suffix on a noun.

I have found no reference equating the specified + specifier (**mumayyiz** + **tamyiz**) with a single noun, though given the similarity between this construction and the possessive one (cf. discussion around (9a) above) by implication a similar unity might be assumed to exist here as well.

The substitutability of relative pronoun + dependent sentence for a single noun is noted in a number of places (e.g. Mub III: 197, IS II: 69, 334, Ast SK: 165, ML: 534, 535). ¹⁹⁶

A different type of evidence for the coherency of noun phrase elements comes from parallels that are drawn between the different noun complements. The relative pronoun (**mawsūl**) and its complement (**šila**) for example are noted to be formally identical to the possessor + possessed because in each the complement is an obligatory part of the construction (IS II: 28).

A further parallel is suggested (Ibn Kaysān 119, Ṣaymarī 517, IY III: 141) between the descriptive modifier (**na^ct**) and relative clause modifier. A descriptive modifier can be a sentence, as noted above (e.g. (30)) and thus can modify an indefinite noun.

- (34) rajulu-n qāma 'abū-hu
 man indef got up father-his
 "A man whose father got up".

However, a sentence can only modify an indefinite noun because (on rather circular evidence) the sentence is held to be inherently indefinite (IS II: 30, 272, Iḏ: 119, Muḡt: 911, Baṭ 75, In: 363), and in the relation between noun and descriptive adjective modifier there must be agreement in definiteness. In order to allow a definite noun (e.g. **'al-rajulu**) to be modified by a sentence,

a relative pronoun is inserted to serve as a link between the indefinite sentence and definite noun.

- (35) 'al-rajulu lladhī qāma 'abūhu
 def man who stood up
 "the man whose father stood up"

The function of the relative pronoun is explained as that of allowing a sentence (relative clause) to act (in conjunction with the relative pronoun) as descriptive modifier (**na^ct**).

Another parallel between descriptive modifier (**na^ct**) and relative clause is noted in Sībawaih (I: 267 ff.) where he explains that the descriptive modifier (boldface) in,

- (36) marartu bi zaydin 'axika
 passed I by zayd brother-your
 "I passed Zayd your brother".

has the function of disambiguating which Zayd one is talking about, and hence contains the meaning,

- (37) marartu bi zaydin illadhī ta^clamu
 who you know
 "I passed the Zayd who you know".

The disambiguating function is rendered clearer by means of a paraphrase with a relative clause.

5.4.2 The noun phrase as a formal unit

Despite the numerous ways in which the Arabic grammarians showed that the noun and its complements formed a unitary whole, they did not formalize their observations by establishing a structural unit such as NP to represent the whole. Given that the basis of Arabic is dependency grammar (chapter 2), and recalling that in dependency grammar the unit NP does not exist (5.1)¹⁹⁷ this fact is not particularly surprising. How then is the coherency of the noun phrase explained in Arabic grammar?

5.4.2.1 Three principles

I think three principles ensure the coherency of the noun phrase.

- (38) dependency
 sequence
 the constraint that items in a dependency
 relation cannot be separated (cf. 2.3.4.2)

These principles have already been discussed in chapter 2 and the way they apply to most noun phrase elements is obvious. The possessed-possessor and (phrasal) specified-specifier relations are in a dependency relation,

one item governing the other. The unmarked sequence in governance relations is governor-governed (2.3.5.3, IS I: 108, IY I: 74, etc.) and in the unmarked situation items in a dependency relation cannot be separated from one another (2.3.4.2). In the case of the possessive and specifier relations (IS II: 238, Khaṣ II: 387) the governed item must follow, and indeed except in a very few cases (Khaṣ II: 390) must immediately follow the governor.

These principles automatically account for the coherency of examples like,

- (39a) ra'aytu ghulām-a zaydin
 saw I boy acc zayd "I saw Zayd's boy".
 b) ra'aytu ^Cishrīna dirhaman
 20 dirham "I saw 20 dirhams".
 (40a) ghulām-a zaydin ra'aytu "Zayd's boy I saw"
 b) ^Cishrīna dirhaman ra'aytu "20 dirhams I saw".

In (40) the object has been moved (muqaddam) to the front of the sentence (cf. 9.7.1.2.3 for conditions governing this movement). In (40a) one could not move, say only the possessor to the front of the sentence, since this would violate the rule of sequence and coherency associated with dependency relations.

- (41a) *zaydin ra'aytu ghulāma
 b) *ghulāma ra'aytu zaydin
 c) *dirhaman ra'aytu ^Cishrīna¹⁹⁸

The treatment in modern dependency practice would explain the unacceptability of (41) in similar fashion. It can be assumed that the possessor and specifier (zaydin/dirhaman) are dependents of the heads (ghulāma/ishrīna). (41a) then violates (13d) (chapter 2): zaydin is separated from its head ghulāma by the verb ra'ay(tu), and this intervening verb is itself not dependent on ghulāma. (41b, c) follow in like fashion. The important idea linking the Arabic and modern approaches is that items in a dependency relation tend to occur together as a unit.

5.4.2.2 The modifiers

I have not included the third type of noun complement in this discussion, the tawābi^C, the modifiers. In the following I will restrict myself mainly to the descriptive adjective (na^Ct), though I think what applies to this applies also to the emphasis, permutative, (in most cases) and explicative, and in a general way to the conjunct as well.¹⁹⁹

It is not so obvious that one can automatically apply the principles in (38) to explain the sequence and coherency of the noun-adjective relation. First of all there is the question of whether the adjective is a governed item, and if so, what governs it.

There are two main opinions here. Anbārī (As: 295), in an argument he attributes to Sībawaih (also Astarābādhī SK I: 299) for similar attribution) says that the governor of the adjective is the same as the governor of the modified. Thus in,

(42) marartu bi rajulin dharīfin "I passed a nice man".
the preposition bi governs both rajulin and dharīfin in the genitive. This same interpretation is found in Jurjānī (Muqt: 930) and in the sixteenth century linguist Suyūṭī (II: 115) who, however, attributes it to Mubarrad (among others), not Sībawaih.²⁰⁰

A second alternative is summarized in Suyūṭī (II: 115), who attributes it to Sībawaih and Sībawaih's teacher Khaīl. Anbārī (op cit) also considers, but rejects this argument, which he attributes to 'Akhfash (d. mid-ninth century) alone.²⁰¹ This says that the governor of three of the modifiers, adjective, emphasis and explicative is the fact of its following ('al-^Cāmilu fīhi l-tab^Ciyya, Suyūṭī II: 115). Anbarī paraphrases 'Akhfash's argument in the following way, where, for example, one is explaining the genitive form in dharīfin (40): "the fact of its being an adjective (sifa) to a genitive noun (i.e. rajulin) requires that it be in the genitive case" (295 ^{α 87}, similarly for the nominative and accusative cases of an adjective). In this view one might say that the most important explanation for the form of the adjective is its syntactic position, its occurrence as a modifier (cf. 2.4.1), which I think is Anbārī's interpretation, or that somehow the meaning of "following" determines its form.

Yet a further aspect of the inflectional form of the adjective is the semantic unity formed by modified and modifier. For example, when discussing the adjective Sībawaih (I: 177, also Farrā' I: 112, Jurjānī Dal: 411) says that in (42) rajulin dharīfin acts like a single word semantically in that one means here not an individual man, but one of a particular type of man. This semantic unity is what accounts for the modifier agreeing with the noun in case.^{α 88 202}

However, many of the important grammars do not even discuss the matter of what governs the modifier. In many accounts which consider the modifiers as a class --

Ibn Jinnî (Luma^C), Ibn Hishâm (QN), Ibn ^CAqîl as well as well as modern accounts (e.g. Râjihi 381 ff.) -- the modifiers are characterized as items which follow the modified noun in inflection. The quote from Ibn ^CAqîl (18 above) is typical. They are not said to be governed by a verb or particle as the modified noun is. Rather, their inflection varies according to that of the noun they modify.²⁰³ Ibn Hishâm, following Zamakhsharî (110) says that they are nouns "which have no inflection except insofar as they follow that of another one" (283).^{α89} These viewpoints would suggest that modifiers get their inflection by the fact that they follow something, that their inflection comes about by a different sort of relation, that of following (tab^Ciyya) rather than by the governance of another word.

In (42) the governor of the modifier can thus be regarded either as the fact that it "follows" the noun, or as resulting from a conjunction of three factors: that it is in the position of modifier, that it is governed by bi, which is (unequivocally) the governor of the modified noun, and that it forms a single noun-like unit with the modified noun.^{204 205}

Though the criterion of governance works clearly in the instance of the possessor and specifier relations, I do not think that the relation between noun and adjective is obviously enough one of governance to allow the generalization that the "head" is the noun that governs the other complements in the noun phrase.

5.4.3 A further principle: pairwise relations and sequence

Nevertheless, this does not mean that the principles governing the coherency of noun-adjective are radically different from those operating in the case of noun + possessor/specifier. Most importantly, just as the governor always precedes the possessor, so the modified always precedes the modifier (Zaj Iq: 61, Khaṣ II: 385, 387, 391, In: 82) and thus sequentially the modified item parallels the governor.

- (43) ghulâmu l-rajul-i Pssd + Pssr
 def man gen "the boy of the man"
 'al-ghulâmu l-^Câqil-u Modfd + Modfr
 "the intelligent boy"

Jurjânî (Muqt: 305) explicitly brings out the sequential analogy of governor = modified/governed = modifier "The governed item has no (sequential) position independent of the governor in the same way the modifier relies on the modified."^{α 90 206}

Furthermore, it is the item on the left-most edge of the noun phrase (rightmost in Arabic orthography) which somehow is the most important one in the relation, the one which has the central role in mediating the relation between the noun phrase and rest of the sentence. Ibn Jinnī makes this point (Khaṣ II: 159) in discussing the modified-adjective modifier relation (and IY III: 38, 39 generalizes to all modifiers): "the governor is most related to the modified, and only secondarily to the modifier".^{Q 91} Thus, in the example,

- (44) marartu bi rajulin ḍharīfin
by man nice "I passed a nice man".

the governor **bi** would first of all be related to **rajulin** and only secondarily to **ḍharīfin**.

Furthermore, it is the case that items in a relation tend to occur next to each other. Relations, as has been amply demonstrated, are phrased in bilateral, pairwise terms. These may be governance relations, but do not have to be (as in the case of modifiers). The inseparability of items in a dependency relation has been shown to be an explicit principle of Arabic theory (2.3.4.2). However, it is equally the case that any items in a relation should not be separated, so that the noun and adjective (in a relation of **naʿt** or **waṣf**, descriptive relation) for example will occur next to each other. This latter point is not entirely explicit, but it is implied in Jurjānī's correlation of governor = modified, governed = modifier (cf. Q 90 above), and it is implicit in Ibn Jinnī's discussion of sequence (Khaṣ II: 384 ff., esp. 390 ff.; cf. Mehiri 383 ff.).

Modified-modifier thus tend to show the same degree of coherency, and have the same sequence as items in the governor-governed relation.

In the light of these points, the analysis of the following examples becomes clear, even though it is an analysis somewhat different from that in most modern linguistic theories.

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (45a) | <u>'al-rajulu</u> | <u>l-kabīru</u> | <u>muntaliqun</u> | "The big man is leaving". |
| | def man | def big | leaving | leaving". |
| b) | <u>hadhā</u> | <u>l-rajulu</u> | " | "This man is leaving". ²⁰⁷ |
| | this | def man | | leaving". |
| c) | <u>zaydun</u> | <u>hadhā</u> | " | "This Zayd is leaving". |
| | Modfd | Modfr | | |
| | Topic | | Comment | |

In each sentence the boldface word is the topic (**mubtada'**, subject), the item which contracts the relation-

ship with the predicate (*khavar* = *munṭaliqun*). As shown in 2.9.3, in the dependency analysis of the Arabic grammarians there is no sense in which the subject is the whole phrase (e.g. *'al-rajulu l-kabīru*). The relationship of subject to predicate is as one word to another. In each example the topic also contracts a relationship of modified (*matbū^c*) to modifier (*tābi^c*) with the following word.

What is interesting in these examples is that the status of an item changes according to its linear position. In (45a) *'al-rajulu* is the topic (subject); in (45b), where it follows the demonstrative *hadhā*, it is a modifier (*na^ct*) to *hadhā* (cf. n. 207), which is the topic of the sentence, while in (45c) *hadhā* is a modifier (*na^ct*) to *zaydun*, which is the topic (*ṣaymarī* 171, *Fārisī* Iq: 923).

These points follow (1) from the fact that there is no basis for picking out one particular item, say the lexical noun (*rajulu*, *zaydun*) as head in all different constructions, and (2) from the left to right ordering of noun phrase relations, where it is always the item to the right which serves as the qualifying item.²⁰⁸

5.5 Summary

We are now in a position to answer the question posed at the beginning of this chapter, whether the Arabic grammarians developed a NP, and if they did not, how they accounted for the coherency of the noun phrase. As already noted, the answer to the first question is "no", though as seen in 5.4.1 on an informal basis larger noun phrase units were shown to be equivalent to smaller ones, and therefore on the basis of substitution techniques a noun phrase was implicitly recognized. Formally, however, the coherency of the noun phrase is achieved not by defining a whole which includes a number of smaller constituents, but rather by defining a number of bilateral pairwise relations and attributing certain general properties to these, which ensures the proper sequence of items and their coherency as a unit. These principles are,

- (46a) items in a relation tend to occur next to each other (implicit principle)
- b) governors occur next to governed (explicit)
- c) governors precede governed (explicit)
- d) modified items precede modifiers (explicit)
- e) modifier has a sequential position analogous to governed item (explicit in *Jurjānī*)

With these Arabic theory succeeds in accounting for the coherency of noun phrases by exploiting its own general principles.²⁰⁹

TRANSITIVITY

By transitivity I understand what Tesnière (1959: 242 ff.) calls diathesis, the relation between a verb and its dependents relative to a basic norm. This basic norm is the valency of a verb, the number and type of complements which a verb characteristically occurs with (Tesnière 1959: 238, Bobzin 1983: 93). Though not developed into a fully coherent model, a considerable amount of material relating to transitivity was covered by Arabic grammarians in a systematical fashion.

6.1 Types of objects

An object (**maf^Cûl**) in Arabic grammar is any accusative noun directly dependent on the verb (Mub IV: 299, Ibn Kaysân 111). By Sarrâj's time eight types of objects were recognized: absolute, direct, circumstantial, accompaniment, reason, condition, specifier and exception (IS I: 189-379).²¹⁰ The first five were termed 'true' objects, the last three 'pseudo' objects (**shibhu l-maf^Cûl**). In the following the relevant example is in boldface.²¹¹

- (1a) darab-tu-hu **darb-an** Absolute (**maf^Cûl** **muṭlaq**,
hit I him a hit acc Ap 3.1.1)
"I really hit him".
- b) ra'aytu **zayd-an** Direct (**maf^Cûl** **bihi**, Ap 3.1.2)
saw I acc "I saw Zayd".
- c) ra'aytu zaydan **fawq-a** l-bayt Circumstance (**ḍharf**
saw I on acc house or **maf^Cûl** **fihī**,
"I saw Zayd on top of the house". Ap 3.1.3)
- d) sirtu wa **l-nīl-a** Accompaniment (**maf^Cûl** **ma'ahu**
and Nile acc Ap 3.1.4)
"I followed the Nile".
- e) ji'-tu-ka **ṭamā^C-an** fī birri-ka Reason
came I you needing-acc charity your (**maf^Cûl** **li-**
"I came to you needing your charity". 'ajlihi,
Ap 3.1.5)
- f) jā'a zaydun **râkib-an** Condition (**ḥâl**, Ap 3.2.1)
came riding acc "Zayd came riding".

- (1g) taṣabbaba l-faras-u ^Caraq-an Specifier (^tamyiz
 dripped def mare nom sweat acc Ap 3.2.2)
 "The horse dripped sweat".
- h) ra'aytu l-qawma 'illā zayd-an Exception
 saw I def people except acc ('istithnā',
 "I saw the people, except Zayd". Ap 3.2.3)

6.1.1 Direct objects (^{ma}fā'il bihi)

Verbs vary according to the number and types of direct objects (^{ma}fā'il bihi pl., e.g. (1b)) they can take, and they are cross-classified according to this parameter: intransitive verbs (^{lā}zim)²¹² and transitive (^{mu}tā'addī lit. "passing over"), which in turn are classified as transitive, bi-transitive, and tri-transitive, and as taking a noun clause complement or not (IS I: 82, 202, 211, 223).

- (2a) Intransitive
dhahaba zaydun "Zayd went"
'iswadda l-lawn-u "The color became black".
 blacken color
- b) Transitive
 i) daraba zaydun muḥammad-an "Zayd hit Mohammad".
 ii) ḏhanan-tu 'anna zaydan qāma
 thought I that stood up
 "I thought that Zayd stood up".
- c) Bi-transitive
 i) 'a taytu zaydan hadiyya "I gave Zayd a present"
 gave I present
 ii) alim-tu zaydan karīm-an "I came to know Zayd
 learned I generous acc to be generous".
 iii) ḏhanantu zayd-an karīm-an "I thought Zayd
 thought I acc acc generous".
- d) Tri-transitive
'a lam-tu aḥmad-a zayd-an karīm-an
 informed I acc acc acc
 "I informed Ahmad that Zayd was generous".

6.1.2 Two interpretations of 'transitive' (^{mu}tā'addī)

Transitive verbs are those in which an action is placed on (^{'a}wqa'a) or carried over to (^{'a}wṣala) an object (Mub IV: 299, Zam 34, IH QN: 181).

For the grammarians covered in this study (though not necessarily for Sībawaih, Levin 1979, Bobzin 1983: 95, cf. below) transitive verbs are those in which an action is placed on (^{'a}wqa'a) or carried over to (^{'a}wṣala) an object. For example, Mubarrad says, if you said "I hit Zayd" (darabtu zayd-an) or "I spoke to Amr" (kallamtu ^Camran)

...you do not affect Zayd or Amr, but rather did an action of hitting or speaking, and placed the blow on Zayd or made the speech carry over to Amr. Zayd and Amr are direct objects because you placed the action on them and carried it over to them. (IV: 299) α 92

Mubarrad goes on to discuss other accusative complements (cf. next section, 6.2; locative, condition), clearly with the understanding that there is an isomorphism between the accusative complement and a specific semantic value (for direct object, carrying of action to object; for locative, definition of where action occurs).

Sarrāj (I: 202) brings out the semantic value of transitivity (**ta^cdiya**) more clearly.

Actions can be divided into two sorts, one where something is encountered and there is something affected, and one where there is not; the verb in the former is called transitive (**muta^caddi**) and the latter intransitive (**ghayr muta^caddi**). α 93

What is carried over from agent to object, affecting the object, is the action implied in the verb through its verbal noun. Very briefly (the subject is an involved one), each verb (excepting those like **kāna** "be") was considered to contain in it a meaning equivalent to a verbal noun. A sentence like,

(3a) dhahaba zaydun "zayd went".

can be paraphrased

(3b) qad kāna min-hu dhihāb-un (Sīb I: 11; cf. IS I: 190)
was from-him going nom

"There has been an instance of going associated with him".

For Sarrāj and Mubarrad this action of the verbal noun is what is carried over from agent to object. Against Levin (1979: 206), I think Sarrāj (and Mubarrad) does literally mean that an action passes over from agent to object. He uses the verbs '**aththara** "affect" and **lāqā** "meet with, encounter" to describe the movement of this action, for example explaining that "...a movement of the body, if it meets with (**lāqat**) something, then the verb which describes that action is transitive" α 94 (I: 203), as in

(4) 'ataytu zayd-an
came I acc "I came to Zayd".

An action of coming moves to and encounters Zayd, this physical movement paralleling the classification of

the verb as transitive (cf. Anbārī In: 557 and 2.4.1 Q 26). Note that Sarrāj uses neither 'aththara nor lāqā in any general sense of "govern". Rather they refer specifically to the phenomenon of transitivity, the number of accusative complements the action of a verb, and hence the verb itself, is associated with.

This point would seem to be vitiated by Sarrāj's later observation (I: 216) that verbs such as ḡhanna (2 c iii) are transitive (muta^caddī) taking two accusative objects, but are not "of the verbs which affect (mu'aththirun) something". Ta'thīr "affecting" would not seem to be a necessary condition for transitivity (ta^cdiya). These verbs, however, constitute a special class, those whose complements have the status of a non-verbal sentence (cf. 9.2.2.2.4), and hence represent a marked situation. I would interpret Sarrāj as saying that transitivity (ta^cdiya) directly correlates with a physical process, but that for certain marked cases (verbs like ḡhanna) this correlation is suspended. I think this is the only way one can make sense of Sarrāj's basic characterization of transitivity (Q 93), while, as is the case in general with marked categories, the special marked status of ḡhanna and such verbs is specifically noted to be exceptional.

The semantic import of ta^cdiya "transitivity" is in evidence in the treatment of co-occurrence relations between verb and object (cf. 9.2.1, e.g. (17)). Mubarrad (IV: 336) notes that the difference between

- (5a) ḡāma 'amāmaka
stood front your "He stood in front of you".

and

- (5b) *ḡāma dāraka
house *"He stood your house"

is that since action must occur in a general area, like 'amām "front", these general nouns can be used as direct dependents of verbs, as circumstantial objects (cf. 4.7.1). The action of the verbs is related to them directly (ta^caddā 1-fi^clu 'ilayhi, cf. 4.7.3). Here the use of ta^caddā recalls the selectional restrictions of modern linguistics.

Bobzin (1983: 95), following Levin (1979) and against Versteegh (1977: 82, 83) argues that in Sībawaih the term ta^caddā means "...den Akkusativ (naṣb) regieren. Ta^caddā bezieht sich somit nur auf den grammatischen Effekt, den ^camal, nicht auf die Handlung als solche."

This has a degree plausibility about it, and if correct would mean that Sībawaih's conception of transitivity was considerably different from that of Mubarrad and those after, as indeed Bobzin would argue (cf. below).

In Sībawaih one does not find the term $ta^{Caddā}$ "pass over, be in a transitive relation" defined in the literal sense in which it is interpreted by Mubarrad and Sarrāj. For Sībawaih nothing reaches or is placed on anything else, nothing affects (*'aththara*) the object. To this extent Levin's and Bobzin's summary is correct.

However, the equation of $ta^{Caddā}$ with "govern in the accusative" is not without its problems, and it is relevant to point out that one scholar (Saad 1979) translates Sībawaih's term ta^{Cdiya} as "transitivity". First of all, there are accusative verb complements which are not said to be transitive complements, yet which are governed in the accusative. Of the condition (*ḥāl*, Ap 3.2.2) *rākiban* in the example,

- (6) *dhahabtu rākib-an*
went I riding-acc "I went riding".

Sībawaih (I: 16) writes:

...and if this condition (*rākiban*) were of the class of (nouns) like *thawb* "cloth" or *zayd*, one could not allow *dhahabtu rākiban* (= 6) because it (the verb *dhahaba*) does not pass over ($yata^{Caddā}$) to an object like *Zayd* or *Amr*...and its meaning is not like *thawb* "cloth" or *zayd*, and it is as if its governor were not a verb. ^{α 95}

That is, *dhahaba* does not take a transitive complement, therefore the accusative complement *rākiban* cannot be of this class (cf. Carter 1972a for discussion of this and other accusative complements in Sībawaih).

Secondly, the way Sībawaih uses $^{C}amala$ "govern, operate on" is consistently different from how he uses $ta^{Caddā}$ "pass over". For $^{C}amala$ one item is directly related to another, having a morphological effect on it. For instance, in the present example (6) Sībawaih begins the section: "This is the chapter about what the verb governs (ya^{Cmalu}) and (what) is put into the accusative (*yantaṣibu*)."^{α 96} The verb directly governs the condition complement. Similarly, when contrasting the pair of synonymous sentences,

- (7a) *sammay-tu-hu bi fulān-in* "I named him so and
named I him by so + so-gen so".

- (7b) sammaytuhu fulān-an "I named him so and so".
acc

he says that "when you delete the preposition (from (7a)) the verb governs" (i.e. the object, as in (7b)). In (7a) the preposition governs the object in the genitive, but in (7b) **fulānan** is governed by the verb in the accusative.

When describing **ta^Caddā**, however, Sībawaih always uses an expression for "action carrying over (or failing to) from some nominal function to another". He opens the chapter exemplifying transitive sentences such as,

- (8) daraba ^Cabdu llāhi zaydan "Abdulla hit Zayd".
acc

with the introduction "this is the chapter about the agent whose action (**fi^Cl**) carries over to an object". The passive of this sentence

- (9) duriba zaydun "Zayd was hit".
nom

is described as "the object (= **zaydun**) to which no action passes over, nor whose action passes over to another object.^{α97 98} The last proviso (starting with "nor") is added to exclude passivized bi-transitive verbs from the particular class of examples, since with them an action is said to pass over from object (i.e. from derived subject) to another object. **Ta^Caddā** for Sībawaih involves two nouns with some sort of "action" (of an unspecified sort; one cannot rule out the action of determining case form) passing (or failing to) between them. In a relation of **^Camal** "governance", by contrast, nothing is said to move between the governor and governed.

While accepting that Sībawaih's conception of transitivity is different from that of later grammarians, being perhaps a more formal treatment with no intimation of a physical affect falling upon the object, I think it premature to equate it with his notion of governance (**^Camal**) or sub-class of this notion ("govern in the accusative").²¹³

6.2 More objects

Besides direct objects, any verb has its actions occur in a place and time (represented by circumstantial object), any verb can have the action emphasized by a verbal noun (absolute object), and each verb describes an action that occurs in some condition (**ḥāl**), whether or not it is transitive to a direct object (Mub IV: 335^{α 99} IS I: 192, **Jumal**: 32). These objects are all implied in any verb (excepting the problematic case of **kāna** "be"),

With the direct object (**maf^cûl bihi**) there are two possibilities in regards optionality. In most cases a direct object is optional. Mubarrad (III: 116) thus says that one say either,

- (14a) daraba ^Cabdu llâhi zaydan "Abdulla hit Zayd".
 or b) daraba ^Cabdu llâhi "Abdulla hit".

In the case of (14b) the verb falls into the class (**ṣāra bi manzila**) of intransitives like,

- (14c) qâma zaydun "Zayd got up".

However, Mubarrad mentions that there is in fact an understood object in (14b).

Another view is that of Jurjānī (also IS I: 216, 217, IY II: 39) who held that a verb like **daraba** "hit" could be treated both intransitively and transitively when no overt object occurs. He says that if the verb has no overt object, and if none is intended -- if one is concentrating on the action itself -- then it is simple intransitive. However, one can also have an intended object deleted if there is something in the context which points to this object (cf. 7.1). Sakkākī (228) adds that a transitive verb without its object can have the effect of generalizing the statement to cover what amounts to a universal set of objects.

- (15) yabnī wa yahdumu "He builds up and tears down".
 builds and destroys

A transitive verb can thus be transitive with an overt object, or with an understood object, or it can be intransitive. ^{Q 101}

A second case of optionality relates to a class of bi-transitive verbs (**dhanna wa 'akhwātuḥā** or **'af'ālu l-qulūb**, Mub III: 95, IS I: 211, Zam 259) which require both objects to occur (if any one occurs -- they can also occur with no object at all). These have been discussed briefly in 2.3.6.1. They are verbs whose objects are related to a nominal sentence containing a topic and comment. They contrast with bi-transitives like

- (16a = 2 c i) ^C'aṭaytu zaydan dirhaman (Mub III: 93)
 "I gave Zayd a dirham".

where one can stop with **zayd**,

- (16b) ^C'aṭaytu zaydan (Mub III: 93)
 "I gave Zayd (something)".

However, in

- (17a) ḏhanantu zaydan 'akhā- ka
 thought I brother your
 "I thought Zayd your brother".
 or b) ^Calimtu zaydan karīman (= 2 c iii)
 "I came to know Zayd to be generous".

the two objects are one and the same thing, as in the related non-verbal sentence

- (17b) zaydun 'akhûka/karîmun "Zayd is your brother/
generous".

and so one cannot mention the one without the other (cf. 9.2.2.2.4).

- (17c) *ḡhanantu zaydan
*alimtu zaydan

Here it is interesting to note that in (17a) zaydan and 'akhûka/karîman are construed as two separate objects (notwithstanding the English translation). This follows from the Arabic emphasis on overt case marking to show syntactic relations. Since the two objects are in the accusative, the typical case form of an object, there is little alternative but to consider each a separate object.

6.4 Causative

Referring back to (2 c ii, 2d) it can be seen that the examples are linked together in a causative²¹⁶ relation, where in (2d) an extra object is added. This illustrates another division of transitive verbs in Arabic theory between those which are inherently transitive (muta^Caddî bi nafsihi) and those which are transitive by means of a particle or verb modification. (IS I: 87, 88, 211, 212, Sîr 160 ff., Khaṣ I: 342, Fârisî Iq: 346, As: 86, 87).²¹⁷ In the former category are verbs whose basic root allows one direct object, like ḡaraba "hit", or two objects, like 'a^Cṭâ "give" and ḡhanna "think" (cf. (17a)). In the latter are verbs whose basic roots allows an object or an increase in the number of basic objects only by means of a change in the verb form, or the addition of a particle.

The transitivizing particle (boldface) is either a preposition,

- (18a) marartu **bi** zayd-in
passed by gen "I passed Zayd".

or a modification of the basic verb form (cf. 3.6 e.g. (43)). This takes two shapes, either a doubling (taḡ^Cif "gemination") of C₂ or the prefixation of 'a- to a basic root.

- (18b) kharaja l-matâ^C-u (As: 86)
left def load nom "The load went out".
kharraj-tu-hu
I it "I took it out".

- (18 c i) dakhala l-dâr (Mub II: 104)
 entered house "He entered the house".
 ii) 'a-dkhal- tu-hu l-dâr "I made him enter"
 cs enter I him the house".

Mubarrad' (II: 104-105) notes that (18 c ii) has the same meaning as

- (19) ja^Cal-tu-hu yadkhulu-hu
 made I him enter it "I made him enter it".

6.4.1 Causativization as a unitary process

That causativization is seen as a unitary process is suggested most strongly by Ibn Jinnî (Khaṣ I: 107, 342). He says that both types of modifications have the status of forming part of the verb, adducing as evidence the fact that the prepositional transitivizer (18a) is in complementary distribution (mu^Câqiba) with the verb modification (18b, 18c).^{q102} Thus,

- (20a) marartu bi zaydin "I passed Zayd".

is equivalent to

- (20b) 'a-mrartu zaydan (Khaṣ I: 106)²¹⁸
 cs passed "I passed Zayd".

The two do not co-occur.

- (20c) *'a-mrartu bi zaydin

The prepositional transitivizer is considered as 'part' of the verb for two reasons. First, it is in complementary distribution with the morphological modifications of the verb, and secondly the status of the object after the verb + preposition is considered the same that of a direct object without the preposition, even though the noun is in genitive form (because of the prepositional governor) rather than accusative. Mubarrad (IV:33) and Ibn Jinnî (Luma^C: 134) contend that the preposition + object are in the position of the accusative (naṣb, cf. 6.4) and Zajjâjî. (Iḍ: 109) similarly notes that the object of the preposition is in reality (fî l-ḥaqîqati) a direct object (cf. Owens to appear). The fact that bi zaydin in an example like (18a) is in the position of direct object is confirmed by coordination possibilities where one can have

- (21a) marartu bi zayd-in wa amr-an (IS II: 66, IY
 passed I by gen and acc VI: 65)
 "I passed Zayd and Amr".

as well as,

- (21b) marartu bi zayd-in wa amr-in (same meaning)
 gen gen

Ibn Jinnī's approach goes perhaps as far as one can go within the terms of Arabic dependency grammar to bring prepositional complements of verbs within the overall grammatical framework. Ibn Jinnī needs to:

- Clearly he has to show an equivalence of some sort between accusative object and prepositional object. However, to do this he cannot say either that the verb governs (^camala) the preposition, because prepositions, being particles, are ungovernable (cf. 2.5), or that the verb governs the entire prepositional phrase because a governor can only govern a single item. On the other hand, it was standard practice to determine the status of complex items through substitution, as was shown in 2.7, and this is what Ibn Jinnī, Mubarrad and others did in the case of prepositional objects.

6.4.2 Lexical nature of causatives

(22) intransitive: karuma "be generous", qāma "get up"
dhahaba "go"
transitive: ḍaraba "hit" sami^C a "hear"
bi-transitive: 'a-ḍraba "make hit", 'a^C tā "give"
tri-transitive: 'a- lama "inform"
(IS I: 211, II: 66, As: 86, Zam 277-281, IV II:159)

Each verb has its own valency, but at the same time a transformational-like relation between verbs of different valency is noted. Anbārī characterizes this approach well.

The three transitivizers (i.e. preposition, C₂ gemination, 'a-) act as if they change a verb from intransitive to transitive... and transitive to bi-transitive...and bi-transitive to tri-transitive. (As 86-87, also Fārisī Iq: 599) α¹⁰³

Nonetheless, this transformational-like idea was not developed further than noting the role of the three morphemes in the causativization process. Moreover, it would have been difficult to push such a rule too far. Three obstacles can be noted.

First, verbs of typically causative form often have more than the meaning of basic form + causative (or transitive). Ibn Fāris (369, also Sīr 180 ff.) notes for instance that fa^{cc}ala (C₂ = geminate) besides being a transitive for intransitive fa^cula can be:

(23a) for intensity: ghallaqa "close many", <ghalaga
"shut"

b) opposite of 'a-f^cala, farrata "waste carelessly"
cf. 'afrata "exceed"

c) not based on an extant simple verb, and hence serves as the basic pattern (binā')
kallama "address someone" no *kalama

Similarly, Sīrāfī (161) notes that the form 'a-f^cala may be based on a basic root, but does not form a causative of that root.

(23d) tarada "expel" 'a-t^rada "expel s.o., outlaw"

In like fashion Ibn Ya'īsh (SM: 68, 69) says that the most common meaning of 'af^cala is to change an intransitive verb to a transitive one, but that nonetheless there are four other common meanings, including "to become a certain time", as in 'a-ṣbaha "become morning", and intensive (takthīr, as in (23a)).

Secondly, Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣ II: 215, also Sīr 171) notes that there is a class of verbs which unusually are intransitive in the 'af^cala form, but transitive in the basic form,²²¹ as in

(24) 'a-nzafa l-bi'r-u "The well emptied (of water)".
emptied def well-nom
nazaf-tu-hā²²² "I emptied it". (the well)
I it

Thirdly, although there are three typical transitivizers as discussed above, Ibn Hishām (ML: 678-83) gives a total of seven verb forms which are associated with causativization. For instance,

(25a) jalasa "sit"

is transitivized by the derived form

(25b) jālasa "sit with s.o." (fā^Cala)

where the long /ā/ after the first consonant not only means reciprocal action, but also transitivizes an intransitive verb. A complete account of causativization would require taking account of all these patterns, and to the extent that they are irregular-- and most are -- a strict transformational conception would be difficult (in modern linguistic practice).²²³

6.5 Voice and verb derivation

Voice phenomena are further bound up with morphological verb form in that certain derived verb patterns (cf. 3.6 e.g. (43)) are typically or exclusively intransitive. Two such patterns are called "passive verbs" ('af^Cālu l-muṭāwi^Ca, Mub II: 104, III: 180, Ibn Jinnī Mun I: 75, Zam 281). These have either an n- prefixed before the root, or -t- infix after the first consonant of the root. Those with n- are only intransitive and only can be prefixed to a transitive root, while those with -t- are typically intransitive.

(26)	<u>qata^C-tu-hu</u>	<u>'in-qata^Ca</u>	"It became cut" (/i/ is
	cut I it		prothetic)
	<u>shawaytuhu</u>	<u>'ishtawā</u>	"It became fried".
	fried I it		

These verbs represent an action which stops with the agent. Although they are derived from transitive verbs (Mub II: 104) no active-passive correlation with NP shifts are envisaged here. Rather it is as if the agent undergoes the action on its own accord, in contrast to the passive (cf. next section) where there may be an agent missing.

For Mubarrad, Ibn Jinnī and most other writers muṭāwi^Ca refers to two specific classes of derived verbs. The linguist Sīrāfī (183, 184) carried this analysis further, generalizing it to any pair of derivationally related forms where one member has a higher valency than the other. The member designated "muṭāwi^Ca" is the one with the lower valency.

Thirdly, a condition is invoked to the effect that every verb must occur with a nominative noun that is associated with the action of the verb, and therefore if the agent is deleted another noun in the nominative case must take the place of the deleted one. This noun is chosen from among the objects, as will be discussed below. α 105 226

This constraint was explained in terms of the notion of **'isnād** (< **sanada** "lean on, support o.s.", Sīb I: 6, Mub IV: 126, IS I: 63, 64, 83, 84, **Jumal**: 36, **Khaṣ** II: 219, Baṭ 144, QN: 117, 181).

The **'isnād** consists of the two obligatory parts of the sentence (**jumla**), the topic and comment of the non-verbal sentence and verb and agent of the verbal one. For Sībawaih and Mubarrad (Levin 1981)²²⁷ the **musnad** was first item (i.e. topic/verb), the **musnad 'ilayhi** the second (comment/agent).

- (30) gāma zaydun "Zayd got up".
 zaydun karīmun "Zayd is generous".
 musnad **musnad**
 'ilayhi

In the tenth century, however (by Sarrāj's time; cf. n.227) this alignment was reorientated so that the **musnad 'ilayhi** came to be associated with predicate (= comment/verb) and the **musnad** with subject (= topic/agent).

- (31a) gāma zaydun b) zaydun karīmun
 musnad **musnad** **musnad** **musnad**
 'ilayhi **'ilayhi**

If one part of this unit is deleted it has to be replaced because the two together make up the essential part of the sentence.

- (32) daraba zaydun 'ahmada --->
 mus. **'ila.** **musnad** "Zayd hit Ahmad".
 ḍuriba ∅ 'ahmada --->
 ḍuriba 'ahmadu
 "Ahmad was hit".

The process of deletion of agent and its replacement by an object is governed by a well-formedness condition on the structure of sentences. I will call the new agent the derived or 'deputy' agent, as it was termed in later theory.

The deputy agent can be chosen from among three types of the objects (remembering that there are a total of eight, cf. 6.1, e.g. (1)): the direct object, the absolute object, or the circumstantial object (either time or place), though there is a hierarchy among them

"Two farsax it was gone travelling with Zayd".

(38a) sāra (huwa) bi zaydin farsakh-ayni --->
 went (he) with gen 2/acc passivization
 "He went 2 farsax with Zayd". (agent deletion,
 selection of passive verb)

b) sāra ∅ bi zaydin farsakhayni --->
 circumstance (by "expansion of
 function 'ittisā^c)

c) sāra ∅ bi zaydin farsakhayni --->
 D. O. (D. O. replaces
 deleted agent)

d) sāra bi zaydin farsakh-āni = (37b) α₁₀₆ 233
 2/nom

Passivization and causativization were noted to be opposite types of the same process in that causativization increases the number of direct objects, while passivization decreases their number. The clearest statement of this principle is found in Fārisī (Id: 348).

Change of verb form (known as **naql** "change of position" IS I: 87, Mun I: 24)²³⁴ correlates with a change in the valency of the verb. One can compare here Tesnière (280): "Le causitif et le recessif (passive or reflexive) constituent des opérations opposées, puisque l'une a pour but

d'augmenter le nombre des actants et l'autre de le diminuer..."

I discussed causativization as a process in 6.4.1/6.4.2 and noted that it had both lexical and transformational characteristics. I think the same is true of passivization, though at least in the later grammarians the transformational aspect is the more prominent.

In Sībawaih (I: 10) passivization is largely lexical. For instance, there is no sense in which the passive verb is derived from the active, and the same is true of Zajjājī's summary (**Jumal**: 16).²³⁵

However, the special status of the passive verb is apparent in morphological summaries of the types of basic verb forms. In none of them is the passive verb included among the types of patterns which can be intransitive. The form **fa^cula** for instance is only intransitive (e.g. **karuma** "be generous", cf. (22) above), and so too is the passive form **fu^cila**, but the latter is not included among the intransitive patterns (**Mūjaz**: 130, 131, Ibn ^cUṣfūr I: 166, SM: 74-79). Instead the passive verb form is treated along with the other aspects of passivization summarized in 6.5.1 (deletion of agent, promotion of object). Thus, Ibn Jinnī (Mun I: 23, 24) notes that the passive verb **ḍuriba** "be hit" is "...basically **ḍaraba** "hit", transitive) then its form is changed (**nuḡila**) and it becomes a predicate of an object" (i.e. a passive verb).^{Q108}

One Arabic grammarian, Baṭalyūṣī (211, also Sīr: 187) notes that there are verbs which only occur in passive form,

- (39) nuhita l-rajulu "The man became amazed".
 amazed man
 nufis-at il-mar'a "The woman gave birth".

and that therefore the passive form (**fu^cila**) must be recognized as a basic verb type as well.^{Q109}

However, it is not clear whether Baṭalyūṣī would want all passive verbs to be lexically specified (I would doubt it), and other linguists apparently failed to follow through with the implications of these examples.²³⁶

Baṭalyūṣī (210-211) also discusses another aspect of passivization related to the sentences

- (40a) 'a^ctaytu zaydan dirhaman "I gave Zayd a dirham".
 gayē I dirham
 b) 'u^ctiya zaydun dirhaman "Zayd was given a dirham".
 gavē psv

The standard opinion (Sibawaih and nearly all other grammarians) is that in (40b) 'u^cṭiya) governs **dirhaman** in the same way its active equivalent 'a^cṭā does in (40a). Baṭalyūṣī, however, notes that some grammarians²³⁷ argue that in (40b) **zaydun** is governed by the passive verb, but **dirhaman** is still governed by the meaning of the active verb. The reasoning here is that in (40) the change in the case form of **zayd** (acc ---> nom) between (40a) and (40b) correlates with a change in the verb (act ---> psv), but that in (40b) **dirhaman** has the same accusative form it has in the active, hence its governor must be the same (no change in form means no change in governor).

Baṭalyūṣī argues against this view by noting that one cannot change the status (**ḥukm**) of an item only partly. When one changes a verb form from active to passive one changes it completely and gives it a completely new status, doing away with its previous properties. Thus, the change from active to passive in effect creates a new verb so far as governance properties go, a verb which has the property of governing one nominative agent and one accusative direct object. A passive verb therefore has a valency of its own, though one systematically related to that of an active verb (also IS I: 86, 87).

One of the clearest accounts of passivization as a transformational-like process is that in Ibn Ya^cīsh (VII: 69; Ibn Aqīl I: 499 for similar, though not so explicit an emphasis and Shīrbīnī, Carter 1981: 170). He explains passivization in three stages.

- (41a) deletion of agent
- b) replacement of agent by object
- c) change of verb to passive form α¹¹⁰

Here change in verb form, change in valency, and formation of deputy agent are clearly linked in one unitary process.

I will return to passivization in 8.9 when I discuss the relevance of a transformational model to Arabic linguistic theory in more general terms.

ELLIPSIS

Arabic grammatical theory codified all the facts of the Arabic language. An important source of these facts came from the **Qur'ân** and poetry, and in these sources there is a considerable degree of ellipsis, which tends to disrupt the regularity of grammatical pattern. This point was recognized and given special attention.

As an example of the importance of ellipsis, in Qaysî's discussion of analyses and interpretations in the **Qur'ân**, in the first 150 questions (I: 1-63) I counted 40 examples of analyses involving deleted items.²³⁸

Ellipsis is known as **ḥadhf** "deletion", or as **'idmār**.²³⁹ The interpretation of deleted items for grammatical or semantic reasons became known as **taqdîr** (<**qaddara** "determine, surmise"). The basic principle of ellipsis is that "nothing can be deleted unless there is something which refers to it in the context, and unless there is an awareness of it in its absence" (Khaṣ II: 360).^{α 111}

Ellipsis can occur only when the ellipsed item is recoverable from the context. After stating this basic principle Ibn Jinnî gives quite a complete list of the sentence functions (verb, agent, object, condition, circumstantial object etc.) which can be deleted.

While the Arabic grammarians were concerned to explain ellipsis in actual texts, examples of which I will give below, they also were led to a theory of ellipsis by the logic of their own grammatical rules (Baalbaki 1979:111 Blanc 1979: 161) as Ibn Hishâm (below, 7.4) recognized. Two different motivations for postulating ellipsed items can thus be distinguished: those which have to be postulated for structural reasons, and those postulated largely for contextual or pragmatic reasons.

7.1 Contextual

Deleted items were postulated if it was clear that the context so required. Representative examples of

this type are the following (Ibn Jinnī Khaṣ II: 360- 381, IH ML: 789-853 for larger sample).

(a) Deletion of Topic (IS I: 75, Zam 59; ellipted item is in boldface).

- (1) 'al-hilâl-u wallahi = hadhâ l-hilâlu wallahi
 def moon nom by God this
 "The moon, by God!" "This is the moon, by God!"

(b) Deletion of object (IY II: 39; cf. discussion in 6.3).

- (2) ḍaraba zaydun = ḍaraba zaydun fulânan
 hit nom so + so
 "Zayd hit (someone)".

As noted in 6.3, the verb can be assumed to have no object at all, though it can also be interpreted as understood if the context makes this clear.

(c) Deletion of exception (Ap 3.2.3; IY I: 95)

- (3) laysa ghayru = laysa ghayru dhâka
 not else that
 "nothing else" "nothing else than that"

(d) Deletion of possessor (IY III: 28)

- (4) ba^Cḍahum fawqa ba^Cd = ba^Cḍahum fawqa ba^Cdihim
 some them top some some them
 "some on top of others" "some on top of others of them"

7.2 Structural ²⁴⁰

When I say that the examples in 7.1 are motivated by contextual rather than structural properties I do not mean that structural considerations are irrelevant, for the ellipted item has a definite grammatical status. For example in (2) it is an object, and so must be understood as in the accusative case. However, this assumed accusative form has no structural influence on the rest of the sentence and its existence is not necessitated by any special properties of the phrase it is ellipted from. This is in contrast to the next type of ellipsis that will be considered.

7.2.1 Sarrāj's example

It was seen in 2.3.4.1.1 that in the sentence

- (5) fawqa l-ḍārirajulun wa qad ji'tuka bi rajulin
âkharin âqilayni muslimayni
 "There is a man on top of the house and I had brought you another one, both intelligent and Muslims".

the noun modifiers ^Câqilayni muslimayni could not be considered to have the position of condition (hâl) since this would mean that they were governed by two verbs (jâ'a, an understood 'istamarra), which is impossible because an item cannot have more than one governor. Therefore the logic of general grammatical principles dictates that the governor of ^Câqilayni muslimayni must be something else, and Sarrâj suggests that this something is an understood verb, 'a^Cnî "I mean", which takes an accusative object.

(6) ...'a^Cnî ^Câqilayni muslimayni

Quite a number of examples of this sort could be cited.

7.2.2 'Ishtighâl²⁴¹

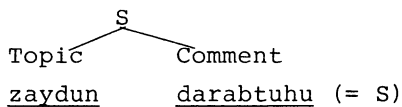
(7a) zayd-an ḍarabtu "Zayd, I hit".

acc
b) zayd-un ḍarab-tu-hu "As for Zayd, I hit him".
nom I him

c) zayd-an ḍarabtuhu
acc him "Zayd, I hit him".

In Arabic there are three sorts of topicalization constructions where the object is fronted before a regular (cf. 8.7) verb. In (7a) the object is simply displaced from post- to pre-verbal position. In (7b) the object is fronted and put in the nominative case, and its post-verbal position is taken by a resumptive referential pronoun. The analysis becomes as follows (2.1.1).

(8)



Ḍarabtuhu has the status of a sentential filler of the comment position.

In (7c) neither of these analyses is possible. **Zaydan** can obviously not be topic, as in (7b), since its inflection is wrong being accusative rather than nominative. It cannot be analyzed as object either, as in (7a), since the object position is already taken by the pronoun suffix **-hu**. In this case then one has to assume a deleted verb, giving the interpretation,

(9) ḍarabtu zaydan ḍarabtuhu (IS II: 263, KW: 172, Ibn
hit I acc hit I him Jinnī Khaṣ II: 379, Baṭ
152, IH QN: 193)

The accusative form of **zaydan** in (7c) is accounted for as being due to the influence of a deleted verb (cf. 7.5.3 for further).²⁴²

7.2.3 Predicate locative

A similar case involves the circumstantial predicate in sentences like,

- (10) 'ijtimâ^Cukum yawm-a l-jum^Cati "Your meeting is
meeting your day acc Friday Friday".
zaydun 'amâm-a- ka (Mub IV: 329, cf. e.g. (1) in
front acc your 1.1.2.3)
"Zayd is in front of you".

The circumstance occurs in the position of comment, but unlike the usual case it has accusative rather than nominative inflection (cf. 1.1.2.3 e.g. (1)). To account for the inflection a deleted verb, 'istaqarra "remain" (or 'istamarra "stay") is understood (according to the Basrans, In: 245 ff.).

- (11) yastaqirru 'ijtimâ^Cukum yawma l-jum^Cati
"Your meeting will be on Friday".
yastaqirru zaydun 'amâma
"Zayd stays in front of you".

The accusative inflection on the circumstantial complement in (10) can thus be understood as a function of its status as a verbal dependent.²⁴³

7.2.4 Vocative

A final example involves the vocative (IS I: 405, Zam 35).

- (12) yâ rajul-an "Oh you"! (whoever you are)
voc_{man} acc
yâ ^Cabd-a llâhi "Oh Abdulla!"
acc

The accusative form here is explained as being due to a deleted verb, which the vocative particle serves to represent (as nâ'ibuhu).

- (13) 'unâdî/'ad^Cû rajulan
I call call "I call a man".

7.3 Non-deletion

In a few cases there are items which cannot be ellipted. Among the most important ones here are the genitive particles (In: 307, with a few exceptions, 304, 543) and the relative pronoun + dependent sentence (5.3.3), which mutually require each other.

Ibn Jinnî (Khaṣ II: 366) notes that there can be structural limits on deletion, observing that while a modified indefinite noun can be deleted and the adjectival modifier take its place (cf. 7.5 e.g. (18)), when the modifier is a sentence it cannot because the S would have to occur

in a position it is prohibited from occurring in on independent grounds. From,

- (14a) marartu bi rajulin qâma 'abûhu
 passed I by man got up father
 "I passed a man whose father got up".

one cannot get,

- (14b) *marartu bi Ø qâma 'abûhu
 "I passed his father got up".

since the S, qâma 'abûhu cannot occur as object of a preposition.^{α 112} (Cf. Khaṣ II: 368 for further examples.)

Besides these there is the general pragmatic constraint that items cannot be deleted if such deletion would lead to an unacceptable loss of meaning in the sentence.

7.4 Ibn Hishâm's summary

Ibn Hishâm (ML: 786-853) brings most of these points together in giving seven conditions which have to be fulfilled in order for an item to be ellipted (of which I will summarize four). Some of these are based on structural criteria, some on semantic, and others on both.

7.4.1 Information

There has to be an adequate amount of information about the item that has been deleted. This can be either in terms of the meaning or in terms of the grammatical form (ṣinā^Ca). Examples of this are discussed in 7.2 and 7.

7.4.2 Operation of opposite processes

A deleted item cannot be modified by an emphasizer (cf. 5.3.2). From

- (15a) 'alladhî ra'aytuhu nafsa-hu zaydun
 who saw I him self his zayd
 "The one whom I saw in person is Zayd".

one cannot get

- (15b) *'alladhî ra'aytu-Ø nafsahu zaydun

since in (15a) the object pronoun -hu has been emphasized by nafs²⁴⁴. The idea behind this constraint is that emphasis and deletion are opposite processes, so one cannot have them co-occur in the same structure.

7.4.3 Restrictions on reduction

An item which is already an abbreviated (mukhtaṣar) form of something else cannot be deleted. The noun as verb (ism fi^Cl, 2.1.1 e.g. (6), Ap 6.3.3) is said to be an abbreviated form for a verb, so it cannot be deleted.

- (16a) $\overset{C}{\text{alay-ka}}$ zaydan = khudh zayd-an
 on you zayd "You take Zayd". take (imp) acc
 b) * \emptyset zaydan

(Cf. Khas II: 284 for similar constraint regarding deletion of particles; Wexler+Culicover's 'freezing principle' 1980:270).

7.4.4 Grammatical constraints

The deleted item cannot yield a sentence which would confound the inflectional form of the original sentence. On these grounds in the topic-comment construction, where comment = S,

- (17a) zaydun darabtuhu^{245}
 hit I him "As for Zayd, I hit him".

-hu cannot be deleted because this would give

- (17b) * zaydun darabtu

where since darabtu has no object, zaydun would have to be in accusative form.

7.5 Extension of function ('ittisā^C)

In the examples considered so far a deleted item has simply been assumed leaving the rest of the sentence intact. It can also happen that once an item is deleted another item assumes the syntactic status of the elipted item. This is a process called 'ittisā^C (IS II: 265; ^{α 113}cf. Versteegh 1983: 172, 173 for more general use of this term; also 6.6.1 e.g. (32)). The motivation behind this process can be mainly semantic, as in

- (18a) 'is'al il-qaryat-a (IS II: 265, IY III: 25, ML:
 ask def village acc "Ask the village". 812)

which 'derives' from

- (18b) 'is'al 'ahl- a l-qaryat-i
 people acc gen
 "Ask the people of the village".

The object 'ahla is deleted and its possessor 'al-qaryati takes the syntactic position of 'ahla, becoming the direct object of the verb in the accusative case.

The semantic motivation behind assuming the promotion of possessor to object, rather than assuming that qaryata is the basic direct object, is apparent: one does not really ask a village, but rather the people in it.²⁴⁶

An example with an important syntactic motivation is the following (Mub IV: 216).

- (19a) marartu bi hadhā l-tawīl-i "I passed this tall
 passed I by this def tall gen one".

Tawīlī is a descriptive adjective, and these usually serve as noun modifiers (Diem 1970; cf. chapter 5 n. 205 above). The basic sentence is thus,

- (19b) marartu bi hadhā l-rajul-i l-tawīl-i
 / def man gen def tall gen
 "I passed by this tall man".

An important process of deletion and replacement of the deleted form has been discussed in the passive: if the agent of the transitive verb is deleted the direct, absolute or circumstantial objects takes its place.

- (20) sā^Cada zaydun muhammadan "Zayd helped Mohammad".
sū^Cida muhammadun "Mohammad was helped".

7.6 The status of deletion

Sarrāj (II: 256 ff., Zam 34, IY I: 125) defines the status of deletion within a different set of parameters focusing on whether or not a deleted item can occur. There are three situations.

7.6.1 Contexts where ellipsis is not good

This concerns the case where ellipsis would make the meaning unclear. For example, if one said

- (21) zaydan

without an appropriate context it would not be clear if one should be generous to him, hit him, speak to him, or whatever, so deletion of the verb would be inappropriate.

7.6.2 Allowed

On the other hand, if Zayd is known as the worst of people and someone says "hit the worst one", if one answers

- (22) zaydan

then it would be understood as

- (23) 'uḍrub zaydan
 hit zayd

Similarly, if one stopped in the middle of a sentence and the other people said,

- (24a) hadīth-a- ka
 story acc your "your story"

something like

- (24b) hāti hadīthaka
 bring "Continue your story".

would be understood. Deletions of this sort are especially common in imperative sentences.

7.6.3 The ellipted item cannot be expressed

The third category concerns cases where the ellipted item cannot be, or at least in normal usage is not expressed. To this category belong particularly the structural examples discussed in 7.2. For example, 'although (25a) is explained as being due to a source like (25b) (cf. e.g. (7) above)

(25a) zaydan ḍarabtuhu "Zayd, I hit him".

b) ḍarabtu zaydan ḍarabtuhu

in fact (25b) is not used (IS II: 263). Similarly, the "source" of the vocative sentence (26a)

(26a) yâ rajulan "Oh you"!

= b) 'unâdî rajulan

is never used,²⁴⁷ the vocative particle always assuming the place of the verb.

7.7 Kufan-Basran arguments

The interpretation of deleted items figures prominently in the linguistic argumentation of the Kufans and Basrans. Quite often counterexamples to general grammatical rules from poetry or the Qur'ân are explained away by appeal to deleted, understood items. Not surprisingly, this is a tactic which the more structurally-minded 'Basrans' resort to more than the 'Kufans' do (Carter 1973b: 303). I will illustrate this with one example from Anbârî's classic work on the difference between the two schools.

The Kufans held that the topic of 'inna (cf. Ap 6.1.2.2) "indeed" could be conjoined with another noun before the comment was added. The Basrans rejected this (In: 185-95 #23), thus rejecting sentences like

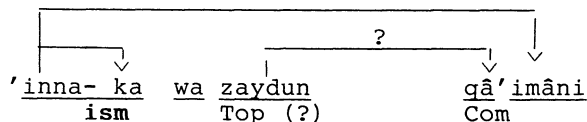
(27) 'innaka wa zayd-un qâ'im-âni

indeed you and nom standing-2/nom

"Indeed you and Zayd are standing".

The main Basran argument against this is that if (27) were accepted one would have two governors of the comment qâ'imâni, one the particle 'inna and the other an assumed governor governing through the topic zaydun (cf. (28)). Note that 'inna cannot be said to govern zaydun in (27) since 'inna governs its ism in the accusative, not nominative (cf. 2.3.6.1, Ap 6.1.2.2).

(28)



- In order to account for the reflexive pronoun form in (33a) there must be a co-referential subject pronoun as in (33b) since reflexives only occur when they are co-referential to another noun in the clause. (32a) can be derived by deletion of the subject **you** in (32b) (Bach 100, 114, 221).

In both cases one is rebuilding missing sentence parts in accordance with general and independently established linguistic rules (an accusative is governed by a verb; reflexives must have a coreferential noun in their clause) and thereby reduces the number of distinct grammatical that must be recognized.

There are, though, four differences in emphasis between the two.

First, in transformational grammar the notion of deleted element has dealt almost exclusively with textual context such that deletion of an item can occur only under identity with something else in the text (Harris 1957/1981: 174, 1965/1981: 261). In Arabic practice on the other hand there are two main motivations, as has been explained, one structural (7.2) and the other pragmatic. In regards to the latter, like deletions in transformational grammar the limiting condition is loss of information as to identity of the ellipsed item, but this identity can be extralinguistic (cf. e.g. (22, 23) in 7.6.2).

Secondly, there is a difference in emphasis between the two which may be summarized as follows: ellipsis in Arabic theory is orientated towards reconstituting lost items whereas in transformational grammar it is orientated towards decomposing complete ones.

This point rests on the observation that the Arabic grammarians are to a considerable extent interested in 'reconstructing' poetry and the *Qur'ân* in order to give a clearer interpretation of the meaning. In transformational theory one starts with complete sentences and then 'disfigures' them by applying transformations to them. One of the major tasks of transformational grammar for a number of years in fact was to establish the exact conditions under which deletion transformations could apply. These conditions ranged from quite liberal application of deletion (e.g. Lees 1960, Harris 1965/1981 section 5.2) in the earlier versions of TG to the narrowly constrained application, typified by the recoverability condition (Bach 100) which allows deletion of an item only under identity with another item actually present (cf. (33)).²⁵⁰

This point applies even in the more formally motivated instances of ellipsis. In the '*ishtighâl* construction (cf. 7.2.2, (7c)) a transformational treatment would start with the complete source.

(34a) darabtu zaydan darabtuhu --->
hit I hit I him

and then delete the superfluous initial verb,

(34b) Ø zaydan ḍarabtuḥu "Zayd, I hit him".

The orientation is different in Arabic theory, however where one starts with the final form,

(34c) zaydan ḍarabtuḥu

and then seeks to explain how **zaydan** could be accusative, concluding that an initial verb must be understood, as in (34a).

If the verb is connected to the object (i.e. with an object pronoun, (34c)), you put the object in the accusative with an understood verb, which the overt one (i.e. **ḍarabtuḥu**, cf. n. 242) signals, and you say **zaydan ḍarabtuḥu**. However, the understood (**muqaddar**) sentence is **ḍarabtu zaydan ḍarabtuḥu**, except that this (initial) verb is never expressed.

Jumal: 39

Taqdīr, the interpretation of covert items, always proceeds from a form which does not conform to the established grammatical rules and/or to an obvious semantic interpretation (as in e.g. (18)) to a more complete form which does. The movement is, as it were, always from 'surface' to 'base', from ellipted context to complete one.

This point incidentally, along with the basic condition on ellipsis (7, 7.1, 7.2), serves to explain Gruntfest's (1984: 236) observation that 'transformations' in Arabic theory (if indeed they should be called that, cf. n. 276 in chapter 8) did not form (feeding) chains as in modern transformational theory. In Arabic theory the interpretation of ellipted items always is concerned with a specific construction (like the '**ishtighâl** construction) which must be explained directly by a more complete one. Recalling that an ellipted item must be immediately recoverable from the grammatical or pragmatic context (cf. Q 111 by Ibn Jinnī at beginning of chapter), the postulation of an intermediate structure would imply that it is not immediately recoverable.

I might note here in passing that some recent theories of ellipsis, notably Hudson 1984: 227 ff., have a similar perspective as the Arabic; incomplete sentences (e.g. 'gapped' ones) are understood by reconstructing the missing items on the analogy of the complete model.

Thirdly, Arabic theory did not have a deletion transformation in the sense of specifying an operation for ellipsing an item.²⁵¹ Insofar as deletion is a process in Arabic theory, it is a process applied by speakers

in the course of speaking. It is not codified in a formal rule (like V NP ---> V if an understood object is not to be expressed).

Fourthly, the Arabic grammarians were less shy about using recoverability of meaning as the limiting condition of ellipsis than at least some transformationalists were. For Arabic grammarians meaning has a central role, as enshrined in their basic pragmatic condition on recoverability (7.5, 7.6.1, 7.6.2).

In this respect one can contrast Harris' claim (1957/1981: 155) to have arrived at the deletion (in brackets)

(35) the shelf is wider than the closet (is wide)

"entirely in terms of clauses and constructions", with the Arabic analysis of,

(36 = 4) ba^Cdahum fawqa ba^Cdi(him)
 some them top others (them)
 "some on top of others (of them)"

where the main evidence that there is a deleted pronoun (= -him) would appear to be that this makes sense semantically and pragmatically (IY III: 30).²⁵²

At the same time, not a few of the deletions posited by the Arabic grammarians are motivated by the need to restrict the total range of basic constructional types (7.2), or to prevent the violation of general constraints (7.4) than by exigencies of meaning.

In the final analysis, these are differences of emphasis more than differences of substance because the basic motivations behind the use of deletions in the same: the desire to maintain an overall structural coherency in the grammar and to derive the correct meaning.

MARKEDNESS IN ARABIC THEORY

8.1 What is markedness?

Markedness is a pre-theoretical notion in linguistics²⁵³ which rests on the premise that among a set of items, one or more of them is in some sense more basic than the others. Markedness can be applied at all levels of analysis (Greenberg 1966: 10), but in modern linguistics it has perhaps been used most in the realms of phonology, and morphology.

As compared to a marked item, an unmarked one may exhibit the following types of characteristics. The following remarks are illustrative only.

Phonology. Items that contrast in one context may not do so in another, and typically it is the unmarked member of the set which occurs in this position.

(1) Voicing contrast in German

	initial	final
voiced	<u>D</u> ank "thanks"	no voiced
voiceless	<u>t</u> ank "tank"	<u>b</u> ant "text, volume"
voiceless	= unmarked = wider distribution than voiced	

Morphology. (a) Distinction in the unmarked category may disappear in the marked (cf. 8.6.3, e.g. (27)).

(2) Urban-Jordanian Arabic object pronouns

	sg	pl
m	- <u>u</u>	- <u>hum</u> or - <u>hon</u>
f	- <u>ha</u>	

For pronouns in many urban Jordanian varieties, in the marked plural the m/f distinction is lost; in the unmarked singular it is maintained.

(b) There is a lesser degree of morphological irregularity in marked forms (Greenberg 1966: 29). With the plural patterns of nouns and adjectives in Classical Arabic there are two types of plurals "sound" and "broken" (cf. Ap 1.5.3). The sound plurals are formed by suffixation of a regular plural morpheme, the broken by infixation

of a morpheme, and often by a change in the short vowel pattern as compared to the singular (cf. chapter 3, e.g. (45)).

Both adjectives and nouns have broken plurals, but the noun has ten types of broken plurals (**Mûjaz**: 103) whereas the adjective has only seven (**Mûjaz**: 113), which would tend to confirm the marked status of the adjective (cf. 8.6.3 below).

(c) Syntax, sequence. One sequence of grammatical functions may be unmarked as against another. In English, subject-verb-object (SVO) is unmarked as against OSV, though both occur.

- (3) I like the car
the car I like

Here the unmarked order may have neutral intonation, may be unmarked by a special morpheme (Steele 591), and may be statistically more frequent (Greenberg 1966: 58, 67).

Different terms have been applied to markedness in Arabic theory. Versteegh (1978: 262) speaks in terms of "rights": within the grammatical system items have certain characteristic rights (what I would call their unmarked state), where under certain specified conditions they can acquire secondary rights (i.e. become marked, cf. 8.5).

Baalbaki (1979, also Versteegh 1978: 262, 263) describes markedness in terms of hierarchies of relations: sets of items form different sorts of hierarchical relations between themselves. I will return to Baalbaki's useful summary below.

Here it is appropriate to outline what I understand by markedness in Arabic theory. It can be illustrated by using Anbârî's basic formulation (**Luma**^C: 93, also Iq: 89 ff.).

- (4) Anbârî's markedness schema

<u>'asl</u>	----->	<u>far</u> ^C
	^C <u>illa</u>	
basic,	reason	marked
unmarked		

Among a set of items, one is basic or unmarked (**'asl** lit. "trunk, root, origin") and another marked (**far**^C "branch, secondary") because of some reason (**^Cilla**).

I will argue below in 8.6-8.8 why "markedness" is the best term for this schema.

8.2 An aside for terminology

The appropriateness of choosing 'markedness' to characterize this schema (4) will I think become evident in the course of this chapter. Here I would add one general point that pertains to the interpretation of Arabic theory, and that is that wherever possible the modern western (cf. chapter 1 n. 1) commentator should seek to use terms that are commensurate with modern linguistic theory. One problem that I believe has tended to obscure the achievements of the Arabic linguists is that in well over a century of study by Orientalists, Arabic grammar as presented to the West has developed its own terminological system, much of it derived from western linguistics (at various stages of its history), but little of it thought through systematically with a view towards discovering whether a given western term actually is appropriate to the Arabic one. An example of this is Cachia's fairly recent (1973) **Dictionary of Arabic Grammatical Terms** (English-Arabic and Arabic-English). This takes most of the grammatical terms Wright (1898), the standard western work on Arabic and another nineteenth century writer, Howell (1883-1903), used in their descriptions of Arabic, and puts them into a glossary. For instance, for *ḥāmil* "governor" he uses Wright's term "regent" (Cachia 68).²⁵⁴ However, as Weiss showed long ago (1910), the Latin term *regent* has little or nothing to do historically with the Arabic *ḥāmil*, and Cachia makes no attempt to show that the Arabic grammarians used *ḥāmil* in the same way the medieval or Renaissance or nineteenth century European grammarians did.²⁵⁵

Carried to extremes of course a systematic term by term comparison would preclude the possibility of making any sort of comparison between Arabic theory and western grammar feasible in the near future because there are hundreds of technical terms in both traditions which would need to be systematically studied (cf. Mosel 1975: 5-8 on Sībawaih). However, there are some which are far more important than others, and these certainly do require careful study if one is to get a good idea of what the Arabic grammatical technique was based on (cf. Baalbaki 1982 here). I have demonstrated in, I believe, adequate detail in chapter 2 that the system of *ḥāmil-maḥmûl-ḥamal* can be considered broadly and to a great extent, narrowly equivalent to "governor-governed/dependent-governance/dependency", and that as soon as this identification is made the Arabic system is seen to be based on a more coherent and systematic analysis than would otherwise be apparent to the western linguist: sequence, formal relations between items, inflectional form, adjacency

conditions all can be seen to be part of a single sub-system, that of governance (^Camal). In this chapter I hope to show that markedness is another term which will help clarify a number of related phenomena in Arabic theory, and for this reason is preferable to a term like "hierarchy", which in modern linguistics does not have so precise a meaning as markedness (cf. n. 261 above) or "rights", a term perhaps more appropriate to the study of Arabic theory in terms of history than linguistic theory.

At the same time I believe I have been careful not to apply western terms where they do not fit. For example in chapter 3 I noted that *kalima* could be "word" or "morpheme" according to context, and that in general Arabic morphological analysis cannot be directly correlated with any one term in western theory, in the way ^Camal can be with "dependency". Similarly, I will caution below (8.9) against seeing in the Arabic pair '*aṣl-far*^C' any close analogy to the base-surface dichotomy of generative grammar, or in recasting Arabic theory in transformational terms (cf. 9.4).

8.3 Markedness in Arabic theory: Sībawaih

With this point aside I now turn to the Arabic system of markedness. There is no single term for markedness, a relation between a basic (unmarked) and marked item, though the following pairs do consistently and I believe without exception correspond to these two categories.

(5) Basic (unmarked)	Marked
' <i>aṣl</i>	<i>far</i> ^C
' <i>akhaff</i> "lighter"	' <i>athqal</i> "heavier"
' <i>aqwā</i> "stronger"	' <i>aḍ'af</i> "weaker"
' <i>awwal/qabl</i> "first/before"	<i>ba'd</i> "after"

The basic terms of the markedness system are those of '*aṣl*' "trunk of tree, base, origin, source", and *far*^C "branch, secondary", and by Anbārī's time had become the key terms of the markedness relation (cf. (4) above). However, these terms subsume a set of related ones, also ordered by the basic-marked distinction, whose origin derives from Sībawaih. Baalbaki (1979: 15-22) gives a number of such examples, which can be briefly illustrated.

(a) '*akhaff*'-'*athqal*' "lighter-heavier"

The indefinite noun is lighter than the definite (cf. 8.4.1, 8.6.3 below), and a voiceless sound (*mahmūs*) is lighter than a voiced (*majhūr*) one.

(b) '*aqwā*'-'*aḍ'af*' "stronger-weaker"

The stronger term is more precise and specialized in that it can be followed by only one term, while

the weaker ('aḏ^Caf) can be followed by more than one (Baalbaki 1979: 17). For instance, particles which govern only one mode form in the verb are said to be "stronger" than those that do not govern at all. The stronger term may extend itself analogically to the less strong, though not vice-versa. Thus a verb governs agent and object and the active participle, a weaker form, derives its ability to govern these same cases (cf. 4.8) from its resemblance to the verb (cf. 8.6.1).

(c) 'awwal "first"

The singular is "first" as compared to the plural, and again the indefinite is first to the definite noun.

8.4 Examples from later grammarians

This same set of terminology is applied in all subsequent writing. I will first give some fairly random examples to demonstrate the pervasive and systematic nature of this terminology within the framework of markedness, and then will discuss six points in detail.²⁵⁶ The role of markedness in Arabic theory is so central and ubiquitous (Versteegh 1978: 261, 262) that all that can be done in one chapter is to sketch some of the ways it is applied, and demonstrate its function within the overall scheme of grammar.

8.4.1 'akhaff -'athqal "lighter-heavier"

Zajjājī (Id: 97, 100, 101, also Ibn Jinnī Khaṣ I: 236)²⁵⁷ argues that the noun is lighter, less marked than the verb (cf. 8.5 below). Following Sibawaih, he says that an indefinite noun is lighter than a definite one (Id: 100).

These terms are especially common in phonology, where, for example, the /a/ (faṭḥ) is said to be the least marked short vowel ('akhaff Mub I: 200, 259, As: 32, 78). Bohas (1981: 207-208) shows that Ibn Jinnī's and Ibn Ya'īsh's use of the light/heavy contrast leads to a classification of sounds based on degrees of sonority, a classification which corresponds to a large degree with sonority scales as established in modern linguistics. The lighter term is more sonorant than the heavier. The Arabic scheme is as follows (Bohas 207).

(6) 'athqal		'akhaff
consonants	semivowels	short vowels
<hr/>		
		>
	w y	u i a
less sonorant		more sonorant

While the place of consonants on this scale has few implications for markedness, that of vowels and semivowels does because the lighter terms will be less susceptible to various morphophonological changes than the heavier

sound, and likewise will more often be the target of a morphological change than the heavier one (e.g. a change to /y/ is more common than a change to /w/).

8.4.2 'aqwā-'ad^Caf "strong-weak"

Anbārī (As: 69), following Sībawaih (Baalbaki 1979: 15) notes that the comment position is the strongest one for nouns. Ibn Jinnī, who was an exponent of sound symbolism (cf. 9.3 e.g. (45)) notes that /q/ is stronger than /kh/ (voiceless fricative), and so that in the pair

- (7) qaḍima "he gnawed" (Khas I: 256)
khadima "he munched"

one uses the stronger sound (/q/) to represent the verb with the stronger action (gnawing apparently having greater force than munching).

In his discussion of the three inherent meanings of a verb (Khas III: 98, cf. 9.2.1) Ibn Jinnī establishes a hierarchy from strongest ('aqwā) to weakest ('ad^Caf) among them. The root meaning (lafḍhiyya) is the strongest, the meaning attached to the morphological form (ṣinā^Ca) weaker, and that which implies an agent (ma^Cnā) the weakest.²⁵⁸

Following Sībawaih (cf. 8.3 b), Anbārī (As: 70) notes that the active participle is marked ('ad^Caf) vis-à-vis the verb, to which it is subsidiary (far^C).^{α 116}

8.4.3 'awwal, qabl "first, before"

Saymarī (97, 98) remarks that the indefinite is "before" (qabl)²⁵⁹ the definite because the definite singles out one individual from an undifferentiated whole, and because the definite is morphologically marked, requiring the prefixation of 'al-.^{α 117}

8.4.4 'aṣl-far^C

Saymarī (87) says that the feminine is marked (far^C) as against the masculine, and that the yes-no question particle 'a is the basic question particle.^{α 118} (cf. 8.6.4). He also says the indefinite is basic ('aṣl) to the definite (cf. Q 117 above).

Zajjājī (Id: 71, 77)^{α 119} argues that inflection is basic ('aṣl) to nouns.

Mubarrad (I: 108) notes that the sequence /w-a/ does not yield ā by phonological rule in nouns since it is among the characteristics ('uṣūl) of nouns that the sequence /w-a/ stands (cf. 4.9.1a, 4.9.3).

This brief survey shows that the terminology introduced by Sîbawaih continued to be used by his successors. The comparability of the terms within the general rubric of basic-marked as set out in (5) can be illustrated with the pair indefinite-definite noun. Different writers may apply different terms to describe the relation between them, but in all of them the indefinite is the unmarked member.

(8)	Basic	Marked
	indefinite	definite
	'aşl	far ^C (Şaymarî 87)
	qabl	ba ^C d (Şaymarî 98)
	'akhañf	'athqal (Sîb I: 6, Zajjâjî İd: 100)

8.5 Two interpretations of Anbârî's markedness schema

Anbârî's markedness formula (4) contains three parts.

(9)	'aşl	----->	far ^C
		^C illa	
	basic	reason	marked

I believe it is applied in two ways by Arabic grammarians.²⁶⁰ First, the 'aşl and far^C can be treated as it were as 'givens'. In this sense the three word classes, for example, noun, verb and particle (chapter 4) are 'given'. Once this is accepted, between these three classes one can establish, with an appropriate reason, relations of markedness. Zajjâjî (İd: 100, 101) discusses just this point, noting that between noun and verb the noun is basic ('aşl) and the verb marked (far^C) for the following two reasons.

(1) One can have a sentence composed only of nouns (the nominal sentence, Ap 2.1), but a verb always requires a noun as its agent (cf. 9.2.1).

(2) A noun has a direct referent (e.g. faras = "mare"), which is readily comprehensible to the listener without further thought, while if a verb is mentioned it must be further associated with an agent.

Fârisî ('Aq: 206) makes essentially these points (though adds that a verb can imply object as well as agent complements), and adds the further point that verbs are derived from nouns (though this is a point of controversy between Kufans and Basrans, cf. 3.4). The particle in turn is more marked than the verb (Zajjâjî İd: 83, Ast I: 6).

What then emerges is a hierarchy centered on the basic marked-unmarked distinction.²⁶¹

(10)	'aṣl	----->	far ^C
	cilla		cilla
	1.		1.
	2.		2.
noun	:	verb	:
			particle

A second usage of the schema (4) is where both 'aṣl and far^C belong to the same category. In this usage, one member of the class differs from the basic member of that class for some reason. This will be illustrated in more detail below, where the imperfect verb will be seen to deviate from its basic uninflected form for a number of reasons.^{Q 120}

(11)	'aṣl	----->	far ^C
	cilla		
verb is	.		imperfect verb
uninflected			is inflected (cf. 8.6.1)

8.6 Anbārī's schema exemplified

The Arabic treatment of markedness is most highly developed in the realms of phonology, morphophonology, and morphology, and it may be that these were its original domains of application.²⁶² It is not restricted to these areas, however.

One of the most important questions which markedness theory deals with is the inflectional form of nouns and verbs. This has already been touched on in 2.5. Here I will elaborate.

The fundamental assumption is that nouns are basically inflectable whereas verbs (for the Basrans, cf. 2.5 n. 95) and particles are not. I have discussed the functional explanation for this state of affairs in 2.5.

(12) Basic state of nouns, verbs, and particles

Basic ('aṣl)	Marked (far ^C)
inflected	uninflected
nouns	verbs
particles	
<u>rajul-un</u> "man-nom"	<u>kataba</u> "he wrote"
<u>rajul-an</u> -acc"	<u>fī</u> "at"
<u>rajul-in</u> -gen"	

There are, however, some nouns which lack inflection (are **mabnī** 2.6), others which are only partially inflected, lacking distinct genitive/accusative forms and without indefinite -n, and there are verbs (imperfect) which are inflected.

	Basic Inflected		Marked Uninflected		
nouns	inflected verb	partially inflected noun	uninflected noun	uninflected verb	particle
<u>rajulun</u>	yaktub-u "he nom writes indic"	'akbar-u 'bigger-nom"	man "who"	kataba "he wrote"	fî "at" wa "and"
<u>rajulan</u>	yakutb-a acc "subjunctive"	'akbar-a "bigger-acc"			'al- "de- finite"
<u>rajulin</u>	yaktub gen "jussive"	'akbar-a "bigger-gen"			sa- "fu- ture"
					etc.

8.6.1 The inflected verb

The argument runs that the imperfective verb has a number of resemblances to the noun, which is basically inflectable, and because of these resemblances it becomes inflectable, as well (Ap 1.6.1, Mub II: 1, IS I: 50, Anbārī **Luma**^C: 107, 108).

(14) imperfective verb
 'aşl -----> far^c
 uninflected cilla = inflected
 imperfective verb's
 resemblance to noun

A verb is basically uninflected, but because of various resemblances to nouns, it takes on the marked characteristic (for verbs) of having inflection.

The resemblances include the following.

(1) Both can be specified by a prefix. The specification involves narrowing down the set to which the noun/verb refer. For the verb, the imperfect can refer to either present or future time. When the prefix **sa-** is added it is only future. For the noun the specification involves the definite article prefix, which narrows the reference of a noun down from an undifferentiated set to a definite individual.

(15) rajul-u-n "a man" yaktubu "he writes/will write"
 indef
'al-rajulu "the man" sa-yaktubu "he will write"
 def fut

(2) Both can be preceded by the morpheme **la-**, which emphasizes the predicate.

whoever" (formally identical to the question *man*) contains 'in "if", and so on.

8.6.3 Partially inflected nouns

Nouns which have three case endings and which form an indefinite by suffixing the indefinite *-n* (Ap 1.5.1.1) are said to be *munṣarīf*, fully inflected. There are in addition to these certain nouns which have a single form in the genitive and accusative and which lack the *-n* if indefinite, this latter criterion being criterial (Carter 1981: 73).

The basic explanation for this is that such nouns resemble the form of verbs, and since verbs (1) lack the indefinite *-n* and (2) lack a genitive *-i* form, this resemblance to the verb explains the lack of these attributes in this class of nouns.

- (20) *'akbara* "bigger acc/gen indef" = *'af^Cala* e.g.
'akrama "honor"

This explanation, however, goes beyond this one resemblance to encompass a whole range of unmarked/marked categories. The full list includes nine (Sīb I: 5, Zajjāj 2, Zajjāji *Jumal*: 218-223. Fārisī Iq: 963 ff., Jurjānī Muqt: 963 ff., As: 307-314, IH QN: 311-319).

(21) Unmarked	Marked
noun	verb
noun	adjective
singular	plural
masculine	feminine
indefinite	definite
simple	compound
Arabic	non-Arabic loan
regular	substituted for another with same meaning (<i>ma^Cdūl</i>)

With these markedness categories the Arabic grammarians formulate the following general principles (Zajjāj 2, Ibn Jinnī Khaṣ I: 174 ff. and references above): if an item has two marked characteristics it is only partially inflected.^{Q121 264}

- (22) marked characteristics
'ibrahīmu "Ibrahim" foreign origin, definite
 (proper names inherently definite)
'akbaru "bigger" resembles form of verb (cf.
 (20)), is an adjective
^Caṭshā "thirsty f" feminine, adjective

This is a highly idealized account, and there are a number of complications which show this neat formulation to oversimplify matters considerably.

One obvious counterexample is that there are feminine adjectives like tawīl-at "tall f", which, however, are fully inflected despite the fact that they have two marked properties. Fārisī (Ask: 145-146) answers this by saying that here the feminine suffix -at is built on a masculine base, tawīl, and hence the feminine -at does not make the word marked because it is not an integral part of the word (it is ghayr lāzim).

Secondly, if these nouns occur with the definite article, or if they occur possessed, they become fully inflected.

- (23) 'al-'akbar-u "the biggest-nom"
'al-'akbar-a -acc"
'al-'akbar-i -gen"

Anbārī (As: 313, 314) attempts to give reasons for this, though he does not address a central issue here: in (23) the adjective has two marked properties, definiteness and adjective, yet it is fully inflected.

Regardless of the details of the analysis, however, one point that immediately strikes the modern linguist in the list in (21) is its reasonableness and plausibility. To verify this I will look at the behavior of marked/unmarked categories in the Arabic language in respect of four of Greenberg's characteristics of morphological markedness (Greenberg 1966: 26-31). Here in the first instance I will not be interested in whether or not Arabic grammarians adduced these arguments, but rather in showing that the categories in (21) do correlate with universal principles of markedness.

(1) Facultative expression. A certain category may be marked by a morpheme whose presence is optional. The \emptyset form can also be used for the opposite category.

This can be exemplified as follows. The f sg verbal suffix -at is said to be optional when the sentence is long (cf. 2.2, Mub II: 338).

- (24a) ḥaḍara (or ḥaḍar-at) l-qāḍiya l-yawma mar'at-un
attended f def judge today woman nom
"Today a woman attended the judge". (i.e. the court)

The \emptyset form ḥaḍara happens also to be that of the m sg verb.

- (24b) ḥaḍara zaydun "Zayd attended".

The form ḥaḍara m sg is the unmarked one according to this criterion.

(2) Neutralization. If a contrast is lost in a given context, the unmarked item occurs.

(25) 'arab^{Cu} darâhima "four dirhams" (pl noun)
isshrûna dirhaman (*darâhima) "20 dirhams"
 (sq noun)

Here I will return to Sarrāj's (Mūjaz: 103, 115, cf. 8.1) observations on plural forms in adjectives and nouns. Sarrāj argues that the adjective should have the same plural forms as the verb, which it resembles in meaning. In the verb the plural forms are completely regular, and such regular plurals do occur in some adjectives.

- The noun forms plurals in this way, and also irregularly via broken plural (e.g. **kalb** "dog", **kilāb** "dogs", cf. 3.6). The adjective also has the broken plural,^{α122} but while the noun has 10 types of irregular broken plurals, the adjective has only seven.

The classic case in Arabic theory is the one introducing this sub-section: the three-fold distinction nominative-accusative-genitive reduces to a two-way morphological contrast, nominative-accusative/genitive, and the two-way indefinite-definite to a single form. However, this happens only where the noun acquires two marked categories.

Mubarrad (I: 256, also Ibn Jinnī Mun I: 18) adduces an interesting argument for the basicness of nouns over verbs, which can be recast in terms of syncreticism.¹²⁵ He notes that the basic verb with a tri-consonantal root has three basic forms in the perfect tense.

- The basic tri-consonantal noun by contrast has these three basic verb patterns, plus four more, making a total of seven.

(28)	<u>fa</u> ^c <u>al</u>	<u>jabal</u>	"mountain"
	<u>fa</u> ^c <u>il</u>	<u>katif</u>	"shoulder"
	<u>fa</u> ^c <u>ul</u>	<u>rajul</u>	"man"
	<u>fu</u> ^c <u>ul</u>	<u>utug</u>	"of old age" (pl)
	<u>fi</u> ^c <u>al</u>	<u>qila</u>	"pail"
	<u>fi</u> ^c <u>il</u>	<u>'ibil</u>	"he camel"
	<u>fV</u> ^c <u>l</u>	<u>khurj</u>	"saddlebag"

The marked (far^c) category is the one with a lesser degree of morphological contrast (i.e. verbs).

Summarizing, I have given five examples of marked categories:

	unmarked (basic)	marked
(1)	m	f (a) in verb, f -at is optional (e.g. (24a)) (b) f noun may lack distinct acc-gen and def-indef forms (22)
(2)	sg	pl (a) singular form is used in neutralized contexts (25) (b) plural noun may lack distinct acc-gen and def-indef forms
(3)	N	Adj (a) adjective has fewer irregular broken pl variants than verbs (point 3 above) (b) adj may lack distinct acc-gen, def-indef forms
(4)	simple	compound compound nouns lack inflection (cf. 3.9)
(5)	N	V noun has greater number of basic morphological patterns (e.g. (27, 28))

To this one can add the special behavior of loan words as against native vocabulary, where it is well-attested that such words tend to behave irregularly vis-à-vis the native ones (Pike and Fries 1949, Henderson 1951, Chomsky and Halle 1968: 373).

Regardless of the reasons the Arabic grammarians gave for establishing the markedness categories, it is obvious that in terms of an independent modern evaluation they were about 100% 'correct' in their choices. This fact alone I believe supports my choice of the term "markedness" for the phenomena under discussion.

The extent to which the Arabic grammarians predicated their choices of markedness categories on parameters similar to those Greenberg outlines is a question I will not investigate in detail. Certainly in some cases

they were roughly comparable, as in the syncretization phenomena I discussed above (acc=gen in marked categories, nouns have greater variability than verbs). In other ways they were not. For instance, I know of no Arabic arguments in favor of the unmarked category of sg vs. pl which drew on the fact of neutralization of contrast in favor of the singular form of the noun with numbers over 10 (e.g. (25)). What explicit arguments were put forward here rested on logical argumentation (e.g. the singular form, representing a type, is logically prior to individuals of the type) rather than on structural criteria (cf. Sakkākī 147).

Perhaps we will see here a comparability of terms, markedness = 'asl/far^c similar to that found for dependency = ^camal in chapter 2, though to a lesser degree: there will be many direct correspondences, but also a number of cases where the correspondences are more tenuous or even non-existent.

8.6.4 Unmarked members of a word class

Within the sub-classes of words was the common practice of identifying the unmarked word of the set (Baalbaki 1979: 15). Of the question words, for example, the most basic is the yes-no marker 'a (cf. Q 118 above). Zajjāj (88, also Marzūqī (d. 1030) in Angheliescu 1983: 15, Sakkākī 310 ff.) uses a semantically-based argument to support this choice that runs as follows. The basis of question nouns like *matā* "when" is in fact 'a "yes-no?" because one can reduce it to a set of yes-no questions. One can ask "are you going today?", and if the answer is "no", you can ask, "are you going Friday?", and so on until you get the correct answer. "When?" and other wh-questions then serve to abbreviate a series of yes-no questions. ^{Q 126 265 266}

Other basic words are 'an "that" for words which govern a verb in the subjunctive (Mub II: 6, As: 328) like *lan* "negative future", 'idhan "so". 'An is like a simple subordinator, whereas the others govern and also add some further meaning. For conditionals 'in "if" is the basic word (Mub II: 50). Others of its class include *man* "whoever, if anyone", 'ayy "whichever", etc.

In all these cases the unmarked word is the one with the componentially simplest meaning (e.g. 'in = "if" vs. *man* = "if anyone").

8.6.5 The form of the nominative

As a final example I will discuss an example which brings together markedness considerations at three levels, phonological, morphological, and syntactic, to show

that through markedness the Arabic grammarians could create a set of rules within the rules of grammar, correlating categories of radically different types.²⁶⁷ The example is from Fārisī ('Aq: 210-212, also discussed in Anbārī As: 77-79, Ast I: 20; Bohas 1981: 211 for some discussion). It addresses the question of why the agent is marked by the vowel -u and the object by -a. The basic facts are as follows.

(1) The agent and object have different inflections in order to disambiguate the two (cf. 2.5 for discussion). These are the suffix -u for agent (nominative) and -a for object (accusative).

(2) The /u/ is considered the most marked short vowel ('athqal) whereas the /a/ is the least marked ('akhaff) cf. (11) above).

(3) /u/ is pronounced further back in the mouth than is /a/, where in Arabic phonetic descriptions (Mub I: 192 ff., Mūjaz: 166 ff.) one starts with the larynx and works one's way up to the mouth so that the /u/ is said to be "first" and the /a/ "last" (i.e. within the terms of this descriptive order).

(4) The agent (fā^cil) is more basic and stronger ('aqwā) than the object because whereas the agent is obligatory in a sentence the object, the weaker item ('ad^caf) is optional (cf. 6.3). Fārisī distinguishes their status (212) by comparing the agent to the king of the sentence, without whom the sentence could not exist.

(5) There can be only one agent but many objects.

With these points Fārisī offers the following set of correlations.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|--|
| (29) | Agent | Object |
| | a) 'aqwā (stronger, obligatory) | 'ad ^c af (weaker, optional) |
| | b) only one per sentence | many possible (cf. 6.1) |
| (30) | /u/ | /a/ |
| | a) 'athqal (heavier) | 'akhaff (lighter) |
| | b) first | last (in descriptive order) |

The correlation of vowel and grammatical category goes as follows.

(1) The unmarked vowel ('akhaff = /a/, (30a)) is used to mark the more numerous category (objects, (29b)) to make it easier for the speaker to pronounce them. It would be more difficult for the speaker to use /u/ many times in a sentence, since this is a more marked

vowel. On the other hand, the agent is marked by /u/ because there is only one agent in a sentence, hence only one use of the more marked /u/ is necessary.

(2) The agent is stronger than the object (29a), and therefore is able to support a marked vowel more easily than the marked object can (the strong can help the weak).

(3) The agent is first ('awwal) -- it occurs before the object in the unmarked sequence (cf. 8.7) -- and it is logically precedent since every verbal sentence has an agent, so it is given the "first" vowel (30b).

These correlations are remarkably ingenious, though for the most part fairly arbitrary. If the agent were marked by /a/ and the object by /u/, Fârisî would presumably have argued that the strongest, least marked category, agent, was given the least marked vowel.

They are, however, equally interesting for their attempt to bring together facts at quite different levels of analysis within a single theoretical perspective, one provided by a theory of markedness.

8.7 Sequence

Sequence is another aspect of the grammar which markedness properties bear on.

Freedom of sequence among nouns in a verbal sentence depends in the first instance on whether the verb on which the nouns depend is morphologically regular or not (mutaṣarrif/ghayr mutaṣarrif). The difference is that in the former case there is a considerable degree of sequential permutation allowed (cf. 8.7.2) whereas in the latter there is not. I will consider the irregular case first.

8.7.1 Sequence with morphologically irregular verbs

This can be illustrated with the following set of examples.

- | | | | | |
|---------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| (31a i) | <u>kāna</u> | <u>zaydun</u> | <u>munṭaliqan</u> | "Zayd was leaving". |
| | was | nom | leaving acc | |
| ii) | <u>laysa</u> | " | " | "Zayd won't leave". |
| | won't | | | |
| iii) | <u>mā</u> | " | " | "Zayd isn't leaving". |
| | not | | | |
| b i) | <u>kāna</u> | <u>munṭaliqan</u> | <u>zaydun</u> | "Zayd was leaving". |
| ii) | <u>laysa</u> | " | " | "Zayd won't leave". |
| iii) | * <u>mā</u> | " | " | |

- (31c i) muntaliqan kāna zaydun "Leaving was what Zayd
was doing".
 ii) ?muntaliqan laysa zaydun
 iii) * " mā "
 (32a) ' taṣabbaba l-farasu ḥaraq-an "The mare dripped
dripped def mare sweat acc sweat".
ḥaraqan taṣabbaba l-farasu "Sweat the mare
dripped".
 b) ḥiṣrūna dirhaman "20 dirhams"
 *dirhaman ḥiṣrūna

In (31) there are three types of governors, each of which governs a nominative noun and accusative comment. There is the fully regular (*mutaṣarrif*) verb *kāna* "be", the semi-regular verb *laysa* "be not", and the particle *mā* "not".

If a verb is regular (*mutaṣarrif*) it will be recalled (3.3.2) that it has a full range of derivational morphological forms: *kāna* "it was", *yakūnu* "it is/will be", *kawn* "being", *kā'in* "being" (AP), *kawwana* "formulate"...

Laysa "be not", however, is not regular -- it has no related forms -- but it does take agent suffixes in the perfect like other verbs do: *kun-tu* "I was", *las-tu* "I am not".

Mā is a particle which governs in the same way as *kāna* does (cf. 1.7.1 e.g. (8)), but it is not *mutaṣarrif* because no particles have such a property.

The Arabic grammarians draw an analogy between having the property of *taṣrif*, being able to change from one form to another, and having complements which change position. Thus, the fully regular verb *kāna* allows its complements to change position relative to each other as in the examples in (31 i) show.

By contrast *mā*, which has a single invariable form, allows no movement of its complements (Mub IV: 56).

Laysa stands between *kāna* and *mā* in terms of its morphological regularity, and the positional status of its complements was the object of some dispute (In: 160 ff. # 18). Briefly, the Kufans did not allow the fronting of the comment before the verb (31 c ii), arguing that since it was morphologically irregular like *mā* it does not allow such fronting; the Basrans argued it was permissible since *laysa* does resemble *kāna* in allowing agent suffixes. Jurjānī (Muqt: 408), disagreeing with Fārisī and stated Basran opinion, suggests a compromise whereby like *mā* (since it is irregular) it disallows fronting before it (31 c ii), but like *kāna*, since it resembles the verb in

some ways, it allows noun and comment to vary in sequence when they follow *laysa* (31 b ii). In this respect it differs from *mâ*, whose complements are fixed in sequence.

In Jurjânî's formulation *kâna*, *laysa*, and *mâ* form a continuum, the degrees of morphological variability corresponding to the degrees of sequential freedom among the complements.

A similar explanation is offered for the sequence of specifiers (Ap 3.2.2, cf. 5.2). If the governor of the specifier is a noun (32b) the specifier cannot be fronted. If it is a regular verb (*mutaṣarrif*), however (32a), the consensus of opinion (Mub III: 36, 37) was that fronting could occur.

Further cases of this sort involving the verb of surprise (cf. 4.9), nominal verb (Ap 6.2.4), condition, and other cases are discussed in the *Inṣāf* (# 18, 20, 27, 31, 36) and in other places.

8.7.2 Morphologically regular verbs

In the case of morphologically regular verbs markedness considerations cannot really be said to play a very important role in determining sequence, beyond the general principle that governors precede dependents (cf. 2.3.5.3). However, I can note a number of constraints on sequence that are proposed. I will discuss the relation between discourse and sequence in more detail in 9.5 ff.

Here I will summarize Baṭalyūsî's (97-99) constraints on sequence with a regular verb. In particular he is concerned to show that the choice of agent-object sequence is not arbitrary. He starts (95, 98) with the premise (universally accepted Sīb I: 10-11, Mub III: 117, Fārisî 'Aq: 211, IH QN: 184) that the basic sequence is Verb-Agent-Object, and then defines eight conditions where the object may or must precede the agent.²⁶⁸ I will give six of his eight constraints.

- (1) If the object is more important it will come first (9.7).
- (2) If an object has a first or second person possessor it is more likely to precede the agent.

(33) *shatima* 'akhî *zaydun* "Zayd insulted my brother".
insulted my

- (3) A conditional noun comes first.

(34) *man* *yadrub* *zaydun* 'adrub
who hits I hit
"Whoever Zayd hits I'll hit".

(4) A question word comes first (cf. also Sakkâkî 219).

(35) man yaḍrubu zaydun "Who will Zayd hit"?

(5) If an object is referred to by a pronoun on the agent, the object precedes.

(36) 'aḥāna zaydan ghulāmu-hu "His (Zayd's) boy
despised boy his despised him".
(ag)

(6) A pronominal object precedes a non-pronominal agent.

(37) ḍaraba-nī zaydun "Zayd hit me".
me

8.8 The 'aṣl-far^C distinction as one of markedness

It is appropriate at this point to summarize in what terms the examples adduced in 8.6 and 8.7 can be said to correlate with markedness categories as understood in modern linguistics. There are two aspects to this comparison, one relating to the actual categories that are defined as 'aṣl/unmarked and far^C/marked, and another to the mode of reasoning that leads to such definition of these categories.

Within the terms of the first, excepting perhaps the inflected imperfective verb (8.6.1) and excluding the special case of the form of the nominative (8.6.5), I think there is a high degree of correlation. I will not address the second question, an adequate consideration of which demands a fuller treatment of Arabic linguistic methodology than there is room for here (cf. n. 269 for a taste of the issues).

As I noted at the beginning of this chapter, "markedness" is an intuitive concept: one feels that one member of a category is somehow more basic than the rest. The sense in which an item is more basic varies according to the data being dealt with. So far as the current Arabic examples go, two different senses can be distinguished, each showing a correlation between Arabic and modern theory of the form 'aṣl = unmarked far^C = marked.

First, if there is a common denominator among Greenberg's various classes of markedness categories in morphology (summarized in 8.6.3), it is that there is a greater range of contrast in the unmarked categories: there is no neutralization, syncretization, or optionality of occurrence (contrasts must occur).

This is what one finds in the Arabic data in respect of uninflected nouns (mabnī 8.6.2), partially inflected nouns (ghayr munsarīf 8.6.3) and word order with regular verbs (8.7.1). The marked category lacks a particular

contrast found in the unmarked: for uninflected and partially inflected nouns a contrast in inflectional form (accusative/indefinite) is missing in certain contexts; in word order, the marked category displays a lack of freedom of movement.

Secondly, Greenberg's (1966: 14) characterization of marked phonological categories is relevant to the word order phenomenon discussed in 8.7.2, and to the lexical data of 8.6.4: "It is as though the marked feature is a positive something...while the unmarked feature is merely its lack." A nasal consonant is marked by the presence of nasality; the unmarked non-nasal consonant by its lack.

A parallel situation obtains in Baṭalyūṣī's account of word order (8.7.2): lacking any indication to the contrary, in Arabic the subject (agent) precedes the object. Under special specified (i.e. specifically marked) conditions the object can precede the subject (cf. the Arabic notion of *'istishāb al-ḥāl*, Anbārī *Luma*^C: 63, 133 and Versteegh 1977: 102 ff.).

Similarly, between the two question morphemes *'a* "question" and *man* "who?" (question + intelligent being) the unmarked member is *'a* in that it lacks the semantic feature distinguishing the *wh* question word.

The only example which does not have an obvious correlate in modern linguistics is that discussed in 8.6.1, the modally inflected imperfective verb. In a sense the reasons (*'illa*) which are said to give the imperfective verbs the right to inflection (e.g. (15-18)) might be considered comparable to the "extra something" which allows deviations from the subject (agent) - object word order (cf. discussion around Greenberg's quote above). However, such a parallel is valid only to the extent that the reasons are, and I think they have to be treated with great caution.

However, even if the account of the inflectional status of imperfective verbs may be dubious as a synchronic explanation, it is relevant to note that in recent case theory (Chomsky 1981) case is assumed to be a property of nouns only. Verbs have nothing comparable. Once this point is accepted (cf. 2.5 and Abraham 1978: 700), it perhaps is not so far-fetched an exercise to explain why the same inflectional forms that appear in nouns (cf. e.g. (10, 11) chapter 2) should also appear on one set of verbs.

In sum then the *'aṣl-far*^C distinction (and its related terms (cf. e.g. (8) above) can indeed be said to be

comparable in spirit to the categories unmarked-marked in modern linguistics.²⁶⁹

8.9 Comparison with transformational-generative grammar

It has been a major aim of this study to evaluate the Arabic model within the terms of modern western linguistics, and within the context of this goal an important question is to define to what extent the Arabic treatment of marked and unmarked categories can be correlated with the notions of deep and surface structure. While there are few scholars who have proposed this specific correlation, given the predominant status of transformational-generative grammar in western linguistics over the past 25 years, I think any comparative account of medieval Arabic theory should address this issue. Moreover Wa^cer (1985) explicitly correlates 'a^sl with "deep representation", while the notion of transformation (Gruntfest 1984, cf. 8.9.3) has been attributed to Arabic practice, and Ayoub and Bohas (1983) apply the term "abstract representation" to the basic ('a^sl) word order in Arabic syntactic practice, a term heavily redolent of deep structure (even if Ayoub and Bohas disclaim such a suggestion; cf. n. 268).

At first glance the correlation of 'a^sl = deep structure, far^c = surface structure may be appealing. The Arabic term 'a^sl can be translated "base, origin", and far^c can have the idea of "subsidiary" or "derived". However, we are not so much interested in finding one term translations for these concepts, if indeed this is possible, as in understanding the use of 'a^sl and far^c within the overall framework of Arabic theory, and in these terms the parallel is fatally flawed.

The comparison between TG and Arabic theory can be divided into two questions. First, in what sense can one see a deep-surface dichotomy in Arabic theory, and if it exists can it be compared to the base-surface dichotomy of TG? Secondly, is there any sense in which Arabic theory has transformations, either of the type which relates deep to surface structure (Chomsky) or which relates sentences to sentences (Harris)? In this section I will concentrate mainly on the first question, though will address the second in places, and in 9.4 take up the second.

8.9.1 Two aspects of TG

Two characteristics of TG to bear in mind are the following. First, Harris' (1965/1981: 237) original transformational grammar had the stated goal of relating sentence(s) to sentence(s): "...The operations (transformations) thus decompose a sentence into sentences."

Chomsky (1957: 61) has this same orientation, first defining an underlying kernel sentence, and then the transformations that apply to it.

The basic starting point of each is a simple, unmarked **sentence** which serves as a base to a range of derived forms, and this orientation I think exists in all varieties of generative grammar up to the present.

Secondly, for Chomsky the base is an abstract object lacking phonetic form, whose syntactic representation must undergo a transformation(s) (even if vacuous) before a surface form is derived.

8.9.2 Two differences with Arabic theory

As seen in 2.2, the very notion of sentence was not clarified until relatively late in Arabic theory, and even when it was it did not have the central position it does in TG. Nowhere does one find it the stated aim of Arabic theory to relate sentences to sentences, even if there are instances where sentential paraphrases are invoked to clarify relations (cf. discussion of Ibn Jinnī in 2.8 and ellipsis in chapter 7). This fact alone will make one suspicious of any equation of 'aṣl = base/deep structure, far^c = surface/derived.

Secondly, a basic ('aṣl) structure is not more abstract than a far^c, subsidiary, one in the sense that the basic one has no actual expression whereas the far^c does. As seen in 8.6.1 an imperfective verb is far^c to the perfect, which has the basic quality (for verbs) of not being inflected, though both are equally "surface" forms. Here 'aṣl/far^c does not describe a sequential derivation where one form, perfective verb is transformed into another.

Similarly, if **man** "who" (cf. 8.6.2 e.g. (19)) above) is said to lack inflection because it contains the meaning of a particle, this does not mean that **man** is inflected in a base structure and then the inflection is lost through some sort of transformation.

- (38) man-u
man-a + 'a "yes-no" *---> man (uninflectable)
man-i

Nothing like this is proposed. **Man** is as much a 'base' item as any inflected noun is; its lack of inflection is an inherent part of its form.²⁷⁰

Rather I have argued that the notions 'aṣl-far^c are best understood in terms of markedness: unmarked (basic) vs. marked. I think it is only in these terms that

a unifying thread is provided for the disparate phenomena discussed in 8.5-8.8 and summarized in (39).

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (39) | Basic ('aṣl) | Marked (far ^C) |
| a) | Inflection | |
| | (i) noun (8.5) | verb/particle |
| | (ii) | |
| | (a) uninflected | inflected verbs have no- |
| | verb | minal characteristics (8.6.1) |
| | (b) inflected | uninflectable nouns and par- |
| | noun | tially inflected nouns have |
| | | marked properties (8.6.2/3) |
| b) | semantically | semantically more complex |
| | simplest member of | |
| | lexical class (8.6.4) | |
| c) | stronger syntactic | weaker syntactic position |
| | position takes | takes unmarked phonological |
| | marked phonological | item (8.6.5) |
| | item | |
| d) | sequence (8.7) | |
| | within defined | restricted sequence (irre- |
| | limits, free | gular verb) |
| | sequence in basic | |
| | category (regular verb) | |

All four phenomena, disparate though they are, are nonetheless reduced to a basic bi-categorical distinction of basic/marked, 'aṣl/far^C.

I see no way in which a similar underlying unity could be found within the idiom of transformational-generative grammar as currently constituted. The assumption, for example, that nouns are more basic than verbs, that certain verbs acquire the right to inflection through resemblance to the nouns, have no analogue in TG, whether in the base/surface dichotomy or in transformations.

This is not to deny that that in specific aspects of the grammatical description the 'aṣl/far^C distinction corresponds to the notion of base/surface structure. I have suggested above that the Arabic treatment of passive (6.6.2) has much in common with a transformational account, in which the passive is derived from the active. In fact, this very example is used to illustrate the 'aṣl (active)/far^C (passive) opposition (Anbārī Luma^C: 93-95, Iq: 96).²⁷¹

However, it would be perverse to take a few examples which do fit the TG paradigm and from them argue that Arabic grammarians were transformationalists or postulated a deep/surface dichotomy similar to that in generative grammar. The active/passive dichotomy falls into the general basic/marked paradigm of (39) and must be understood

as a member of this paradigm, and if this paradigm cannot be understood in TG terms, as I argue it cannot be, then neither should this particular example.

8.9.3 A TG vocabulary?

I think one possible reply to this is to show that if the paradigm in general cannot be so understood, then at least a significant sub-part of it can be.

This is a suggestion worth exploring further, and to do so I will first of all take those structures where Arabic theory and TG do seem to coincide to some degree, with 'aṣl = base and far^C = derived. I will then look to see if some sort of common descriptive vocabulary uniquely characterizes these structures (in the way, for instance, that ^Camal can be understood as "dependency", with most of its attendant ramifications).

The three places²⁷² where I see the closest similarity are in passivization (6.6), causativization (6.4) and in topic/comment complements (2.3.6.1, 9.2.2.2.4).

- | | |
|--|---|
| (40a) <u>ḍaraba</u> <u>zaydan</u> ---> | <u>ḍuriba</u> <u>zaydun</u>
hit acc
"He hit Zayd". |
| b) <u>dakhala</u> <u>zaydun</u> ---> | <u>'a-dkhal-tu-hu</u>
entered
"Zayd entered". |
| c) <u>zaydun</u> <u>kabīrun</u> ---> | (i) <u>'inna</u> <u>zaydan</u> <u>kabīrun</u>
big indeed
"Zayd is big".
(ii) <u>kāna</u> <u>zaydun</u> <u>kabīran</u>
was
"Zayd was big".
(iii) <u>ḡhanna</u> <u>zaydan</u> <u>kabīran</u>
thought
"He thought Zayd big". |

In (40a) the passive is a marked category in regards to the active (Anbārī Luma^C: 93). In addition in (40b) causatives are formed from non-causatives by the addition of a transitivizing particle, and in (40c) one starts with a basic topic/comment sentence (Ap 2.1) and creates a new sentence by adding either the particle 'inna or the verbs kāna/ḡhanna (Ap 6.1; I discuss this at greater length in 9.2.2.2.4). In this last case there is no doubt but that the sentences in the right-hand column are somehow less basic than the topic/comment construction which forms the complement. Nearly all grammarians (cf. below) say that these verbs/particle "enter" a topic/comment sentence and change its governance properties.²⁷³

If there is a word which describes the process by which the sentences in the right hand column in (40) derive from an operation on those in the left I think it is **dakhala** "enter".

This is the term used to describe how complements of **kāna** (40 c ii) are formed. Zamakhsharī (263) says that "these verbs (like **kāna**) enter the same way verbs like **dhanna** do on the topic and comment."^{α 127} That is, one starts with a simple topic-comment sentence (left-hand) and "enters" a verb like **kāna** on them to 'derive' a new sentence.

Similarly, a verb's valency is increased (**nuqila** "transported") by "entering" (**dakhala**) a particle on the verb thereby "transporting" it to a new valency.

The meaning of **naqala** "transport" is: you enter (**tudkhilu**) a glottal stop at the beginning of a tri-consonantal word and transport it from **fa^Cala** to '**a-f^Cala** (form), and if this "transportation" occurred in an intransitive verb, the resulting verb is transitive.

Ṣaymarī 119 α 128

The term **dakhala** is not used to describe the active/passive change, since, as will be seen below, **dakhala** is used whenever a non-basic category is added to a basic one, and in the case of the active/passive verb there is no new elements added. The only change that occurs is in the internal vowel pattern, but as seen in 3.2.2 and 3.3.1 short vowels have only a somewhat marginal role in defining morphological structure.

(41) $\frac{fa^Cala}{active} \quad \text{-----} \rightarrow \quad \frac{fu^Cila}{passive}$
 naqal

Ibn Jinnī does, however, use the term **naqala** to describe this change (cf. (41)), and as seen in Ṣaymarī's quote above (Q 128), **naqala** can be described in terms of **dakhala** (you transport a form (**naqala**) to some other category by entering **dakhala** something else on it).

To determine whether the term **dakhala** (and **naqala**) provides the basis for identifying a sub-component of Arabic grammar that deals with phenomena in fundamentally transformational terms, one has to look at further usages of the term. Here it turns out that **dakhala** is used very widely to describe any situation at any level of analysis where a non-basic category is added to a basic one. The following set of examples is far from exhaustive.

(a) Any added sound (zā'id) can be said to "enter" a basic root (though this usage is comparatively rare). Thus Sarrāj (Mūjaz: 162) discusses the phonological rules that work on a basic root (e.g. qawama' ---> qāma "he stood up", cf. chapter 3 e.g. (14, 18)) and after summarizing them says "...and know that for all these roots, if an added sound enters on them, the same rules apply".^{α 129}

- The rule /a)wa/ ---> â works equally in basic and derived verbs.

{43) kataba "he wrote" ---> 'in-kataba "it was written"

(44) bnu ---> 'ibnu "son" (Mub II: 67, 88, 92, Mûjaz: 135, Saymarî 436)

(a) The transitivizing particles are said to "enter" onto a verb (6.3, (40b) above; cf. Lughda 238, *Mūjaz*: 134, *ML*: 579).

(45) 'al-rajulu "the-man" (Lughda 244, Fârisî ^CAsk:
123, **Jumal**: 220, Saymarî 220)

(c) The inflectional vowels enter a noun, where it will be recalled (2.5) that inflection is a non-basic category added to a noun (Zajjājī Id: 87, Fârisī 'Aq: 212).

(d) The ~~-nn~~ which emphasizes an imperfective verb "enters" onto the verb (Ibn Kaysân 123, Saymarî 425).

- (46) lâ tadruba-nna zaydan "Don't hit Zayd".
 emph

(3) Syntax

(a) A number of particles enter a sentence without changing its inflectional form (cf. Frank 1975: 288). These include particles like hal/'a "yes-no" particles, mā "not", and 'idhā "if".²⁷⁵

- (47) mā/ hal/ 'idhā zaydun ḡharifun
 not Q if nice
 "Zayd is not nice/Is Zayd nice/If Zayd is nice"
 (Ibn Kaysān 113, 114, Khaṣ I: 168, Fārisī Ask: 81,
 Ṣaymarī 130, Baṭ 256, 344)

(b) 'inna, kāna and ḡhanna enter a non-verbal sentence changing its inflectional status in some way (cf. e.g. (40c) Ṣaymarī 113, 115, 185, 203, Baṭ 156, 190, 217).

(c) Various particles ('in "conditional", 'an "complementizer", lam "negative") "enter" onto a verb.

- (48) lam yadhhab "He didn't go".
 not go (jus) (cf. yadhhab-u "he goes" (indic))

Many other such examples could be cited.

The conclusion that emerges is similar to what was arrived at above: the term dakhala "enter" does have a consistent technical usage in Arabic theory; it describes a situation where a non-basic category enters upon a basic one. In a few cases the basic-non-basic dichotomy corresponds in generative terms to a base structure-derived structure dichotomy, but its fundamental meaning rests on the recognition of markedness, where the term that "enters" is added to a less marked structure.²⁷⁶

Indeed, to the extent that there are analogies to be found, it may be fruitful to see the base-derived diad of modern generative grammar as a reflex of a more general unmarked-marked distinction. Given the current state of linguistic theory this way of looking at matters is perhaps not a great deal of help because there is no general, comprehensive theory of markedness that covers all aspects of grammar (cf. Lass 1980 chapter 2). This is not to say, however, that it is undesirable, or unfeasible, and in this regard it would be instructive to look more deeply into the markedness theory of the Arabic grammarians for possible pointers.

In summary, then, it would be seriously misleading to project TG grammar onto Arabic theory. There are a few cases where the analogy is valid, but these are valid only if one as it were quotes out of context, for the fundamental context of the 'aṣl/far^c distinction is that of markedness.

SYNTAX, SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS

As will have been apparent, Arabic grammatical methodology is formalistic. Grammatical categories are set up for the most part in terms of their formal properties, presence or absence of case inflections, sequence, optionality of occurrence, substitutability with other classes of items and the like. These formal categories are always associated with a meaning, and indeed Ibn Jinnī in more than one place claims that form is the "loyal servant" of meaning (Khaṣ I: 150).^{Q130} However, I rather get the impression that this is more of a slogan than a call to establish a descriptive technique based on semantics, and certainly Ibn Jinnī never developed any model based on a formal semantic analysis of language.

This situation, however, does not prevent the Arabic grammarians from making many interesting observations about semantics. These observations can be divided into two types, those which are based on relatively pure semantic relations, and those which pertain to the interface between syntax and semantics. As might be expected, a formalistic descriptive technique such as the Arabic grammarians used has more to say about the latter than the former.

In 9.1 I will discuss some of their semantic observations, in 9.2 and 9.3 will deal with the syntax-semantics interface and in 9.4 discuss the relation between Arabic theory and transformations. In 9.5-9.7 I summarize some of the important work of Jurjānī, who brought to Arabic theory an important pragmatic and contextual perspective.

I am primarily interested in the interaction between syntax and semantics. For a general survey of the Arabic grammarians' treatment of meaning, Frank (1975) provides a useful starting point.

9.1 Semantic observations

9.1.1 Acceptability and sentence types

9.1.1.1 Sībawaih

That there are semantic constraints operating on the well-formedness of sentences was recognized from the earliest period of Arabic grammatical theory. Sībawaih for example (I: 7, cf. Carter 1972b: 83 and Ibn Fâris 289) distinguished four types of sentences based on the parameters structurally good (**ḥasan**), structurally bad (**qabīḥ**), contradictory or disallowed (**muḥāl**), and false (**kadhīb**). A sentence can be acceptable (to the speaker (Carter 1972b: 83, **mustaqīm**) along one of these parameters, but not on another. Thus,

- (1) 'atay-tu-hu 'amis "I came to him yesterday".
came I him yesterday

is good and acceptable, but

- (2) *'ataytuhu ghadan *"I came to him tomorrow".
tomorrow

is disallowed (**muḥāl**) because **ghadan** contradicts the past tense verb.

- (3) *ḥamaltu l-jabal "I moved the mountain".
moved I def mountain

is false (**kadhīb**) because the state of affairs the sentence describes is impossible.

One can combine (2), **muḥāl** and (3), **kadhīb**, in one sentence, as in

- (4) *sawfa 'ashrabu mâ'a l-baḥri 'ams
fut I drink water def sea yesterday
"I'll drink up the water of the ocean yesterday".

Note that so far all the sentences are grammatically acceptable. In (1) and (2) there is a past tense verb (verb + agent + object) with a circumstantial complement, while in (3) there is verb + agent with direct object complement. However, in

- (5) *qad zaydan ra'aytu "I've just seen Zayd".
acc saw I

the sentence is structurally ill-formed (**qabīḥ**) because it violates a grammatical rule, namely that an object, **zaydan** cannot be fronted before a verb if the sentence begins with **qad** (perfective particle; similarly for certain other grammatical particles, Sīb I: 39, 40). In this case there is a grammatical violation.

9.1.1.2 Fârisî

Fârisî ('Aq: 202-204) enlarges the typology of indicative sentences into five major types of acceptable and unacceptable sentences, some with a number of sub-types.

(a) They can be correct (**saḥīḥ salīm**).

(6) qâma zaydun "Zayd got up".

(b) They can be bad but understandable (**qabîḥu l-nadḥimi qarîbun mini l-fahmi**).²⁷⁷

(7) *qad Cabdu llâhi qâma "Abdulla has gotten up".

(c) They can be mistaken (**khata'**), as when one says,

(8a) qâma Camrun "Amr got up".

when one meant to say,

(8b) qâma zaydun "Zayd got up".

(d) They can be false (**kadhib**) with the source of error obvious.

(9) *qad shariba mâ'a l-bahri "He has drunk the water
drank water sea of the ocean".

(e) They can be false (**kadhib**) with no indication of the error.

(10) *qad ḥadara Cabdu llâhi "Abdullah has attended".
attended

where it is not clear why (10) should be false.

(f) They can be contradictory, uninterpretable (**mukhtall**).

(11) *sawfa 'ashrabu mâ'a l-bahri 'ams (= (4))

(g) They can be grammatically correct but semantically odd (**malghî**).

(12) ??Calayhi b-il-khashabati wa l-'udhunu sâmi^C_a
on him with def-wood and def ear listening
??"Give him a piece of wood while the ears are listening".

(h) They can be mixed up (**maqlûb**), where two grammatical categories like agent and object are switched around (often according to co-occurrence restrictions of the verb, so far as the examples go).

(13a) *balaghatnî l-dâru "The house reached me".
reached me def house

where one intended

(13b) balaghtu l-dâra "I reached the house".
I acc

9.1.2 Lexical items

There was also discussion of semantic properties of lexical items. Sibawaih (I: 7) distinguishes three types of relations between form (lafḏh) and meaning:

- (a) both form and meaning are different,
jalasa "he sat", dhahaba "he went"
- (b) synonymy, two forms and one meaning,
dhahaba "he went", 'intalaqa "he went"²⁷⁸
- (c) homonymy, one form two meanings,
wajada "find s.t. new, discover", or "find what one is looking for, s t. lost"²⁷⁹

Much of Jurjānī (Dal, **Asrār**, also Ibn Fāris 321, 324, Baṭ Ir: 71-110) is devoted to explaining the difference between literal and metaphorical meaning.

Another type of semantic observation pertains to noun typologies. Mubarrad (III: 186) establishes a hierarchy of inherent definiteness for common nouns (> = more general than).

- (14) shay' "thing" > jism "body, object" > haywān "animal" > 'insān "person" > rajul "man" > rajulun ḏharifun "nice man"²⁸⁰

A different sort of classification is made by Ibn Fāris (96-98).

- (15a) fāriq nouns whose referents do not change, e.g.
rajul "man"
- b) mufāriq "nouns whose referents do change, transient", ṭifl "child" (i.e. becomes adult)
- c) mushtaqq "nouns derived from verb or verbal noun" (cf. 3.4) kātib "writing" (AP) kitāba "writing"
- d) muḏāf "relational noun, nouns which necessarily imply a possessor complement" kull "all" baḏ "some" (cf. chapter 7 n. 250)
- e) muqtaḏā "relational nouns which imply a complement" 'akh "brother", 'ibn "son"

Ibn Fāris summarizes another set which also has five sub-types, though does not discuss either in detail, and does not address the question of cross-classification, whether 'ibn "son" for example could also be fāriq (15a).

Further classifications of nouns, mixing both semantic and grammatical criteria are found in other writers, particularly beginning with Zamakhsharī (e.g. p. 6 ff

Ibn Ya^Cish I: 18 ff., Ibn ^CAqîl I: 16, 118, cf. Frank 1975: 272 ff.). I have discussed class meanings associated with nouns and verbs in 3.6.

9.2 Syntax and semantics

While these semantic categories are certainly interesting, they were not of central concern to the Arabic grammarians. Instead, their more important observations on semantics came when they considered its relations to syntax.

9.2.1 Correspondence

For the Arabic grammarians, each grammatical construction had a meaning, and each part of the structure contributed its part. As seen in 2.5, the noun or verb conveys a central lexical meaning, while the inflection (ⁱrâb) has the function of distinguishing the syntactic status of this word. The relation between root and morphological form has been summarized in 3.2.3 (e.g. (13)), where it was seen that the consonantal root and morphological form each conveyed a different type of meaning (Bohas 1984: 26-29). Ibn Jinnî (Khaṣ III: 98, cf. 3.5.2.1) assumes this analysis for the verb and adds one further element. He analyzes the verb into three parts, the meaning of an action signaled by the root consonants (*dalâlatu l-lafḍhiyya* e.g. *ktb* = "writing"), a temporal meaning conveyed by the particular morphological structure (*binâ'*, *ṣinâ'a*) it occurs in (*kataba* "he wrote", *yaktubu* "he writes"), and a relational meaning (*ma'nâ*) implying a relation between verb and agent (*kataba* "he wrote").²⁸¹

In the unmarked case any functional category (agent, object, topic etc.) will have a direct semantic interpretation (Khaṣ I: 109, 110). A *fâ'il* for example is syntactically the noun governed by the verb in the nominative case (IS I: 57), and semantically it is what does an action, the agent (cf. 9.2.2.2.2 below). Thus when discussing the function of inflection, Anbârî (As: 24, cf. 2.5) notes that "...nouns include different meanings like agency (*fâ'iliyya*), objectivity (*maf'ûliyya*) and the genitive (*'al-'iḍâfa*), and were it not for inflection these meanings would not be related to each other".^{Q131}

The semantic value of functional positions is suggested quite clearly by Sarrâj (II: 65) in his discussion of sentences like,

- (16a) *khāshshantu bi ṣadr-i- hi wa ṣadr-a zayd-in*
 encouraged I breast gen his and breast acc gen
 "I encouraged him and Zayd".

Astarâbâdhî (SK I: 25) as seen in 2.4.2 makes essentially the same identification between meaning = functional position, except that he operates with slightly different terms, distinguishing the **umda**, the predicative unit, the **fadalât** the optional accusative ones, and the **mudâf**

'ilayhi, the possessor, rather than identifying each functional position individually (though he also does this; cf. Q 25 in 2.4.1). Since each of these three categories are also characterized by a unique form (^Cumda= nominative), faḍalât = accusative, muḍâf 'ilayhi = genitive) Astarâbâdhî effectively (if circularly) identifies each inflectional form with a characteristic meaning.

The semantic value of the syntactic positions is reflected in the Arabic mode of presenting semantic selectional restrictions between related items (Frank 1975: 277 ff.). Whenever a functional position is discussed the various co-occurrence restrictions are introduced at the same time. For example, when describing the topic-comment construction they note that a comment like yawma "day" only co-occurs with a comment with a temporal dimension (Mub III: 274, IV: 132, 133, 329, IS I: 67, 233, 244, Fârisî Iḍ: 228, Şaymarî 102, 309, QN: 120).

- (17) 'ijtimâ^C-u- ku yawma l-jum^Cati "Your meeting is
meeting nom your day Friday Friday".
but *zaydun yawma l-jum^Cati "Zayd is Friday".

Similarly, when Mubarrad discusses the various types of objects a verb can take (IV: 336, also IS I: 237, IY I: 43, 44, cf. 6.1), he notes that verbs allow locative complements only if their meaning implies the existence of a certain type of complement, or if the verb and complement share a certain feature. One can thus have

- (18a) jalastu khalfaka "I sat behind you".
sat I behind you

because every act of sitting implies a general location for the action to occur in. However, one cannot have

- (18b) *jalastu l-dâr "I sat the house"

because jalasa implies only a general area of sitting, like khalfa "behind", but does not specifically imply that the sitting should be in a house^{Q133} (cf. Mubarrad's treatment of the place circumstance in 4.7.1.3).

In this way Mubarrad explains why some locative nouns (e.g. khalf) occur as a direct circumstantial complement (ḍharf) to a verb, while others (dâr) do not (4.7).

When Sarrâj (I: 82, 203, also Baṭ 133, IY VII: 78 ff., QN: 181) discusses transitivity he notes that some verbs take objects relating to the senses, e.g. shamma "smell"²⁸³ others to movement, 'atâ "come",²⁸⁴ others reciprocity qâbala "meet", some affect an object ḍaraba "hit", while others do not ḍhanna "think", and so on.

Intransitives are similarly subdivided according to their semantic qualities, for example those which pertain to movement, *dhahaba* "go" and those which indicate an internal quality, *'iswadda* "be black".

Nearly every chapter on a given functional category includes a discussion of the semantic co-occurrence restrictions of the items which fill the positions. The functional categories like agent, verb, object, topic, topic and comment can thus be thought of as pegs on which can be hung a discussion of the semantic properties of the items which occur in these categories.

9.2.2 Lack of correspondence

Still, semantics and grammar (syntax and morphology in this context) are not always in step with each other, and this lack of correspondence does have a number of consequences for the grammar, ranging from the simple recognition by the grammarians that form and meaning do not always correspond, to reanalysis and re-explanations of certain structures. I will give examples of some of these here.

9.2.2.1 Sentence and lexical items

Ibn Fâris notes in a number of places that form and meaning do not correspond (also Sakkâfi 258 ff., Frank 269 ff.). He gives examples, mostly drawn from textual contexts, of words which are singular in form but plural in meaning, and the opposite.

- (19a) *ha'ulâ-i* *ḡhayf-i* "He is my guest". *ḡhayf* = sg
 these guest my (p. 348)
 b) *bimma* *yarjî u* *l-mursalûna* (= sg referent)
 with what returns def prophet pl (p. 350)
 "With what the prophet brings".

He gives examples of singular nouns modified by plural adjectives and the opposite (351, 354); of using a second person pronoun to refer to both second and third persons (355); of using a third person pronoun to refer to the addressee (356, 357); of a future tense form for a past meaning (364), and vice versa.

Baṭalyûsî (90) illustrates this last point with the following three sentences.

- (20a) *qâma* *zaydun* *ams* past (perfect) in form and
 got up yesterday meaning
 "Zayd got up yesterday".
 b) *'in qâma* *zaydun* *'akram-tu-hu* past in form,
 if honored I him not meaning
 "If Zayd gets up, I'll honor him".

- (20c) lam yaqum zaydun ams non-past in form, past in
 not get up yesterday meaning
 "Zayd didn't get up yesterday".
 (lam + imperfect verb = negative past)

Baṭalyūsī (In: 41, 42) also notes that one can have grammatically masculine nouns with feminine referents, and vice versa.²⁸⁵

Fārisī (^CAsk: 96) observes a similar set of facts with sentence types, noting that a sentence can have the form (lafḥ) of a statement, with the meaning of a command, and vice versa.

- (21) 'akrim bi zaydin ('akrim = imperative form)
 be generous
 "How generous Zayd has been"!

Baṭalyūsī (In: 97) remarks that counterfactual conditionals are positive in form but negative in meaning (cf. Q 54 in 3.1.2 for the general principle he illustrates). Ibn Fāris (289-304) has a number of such examples, though using a set of sentence types not generally used in Arabic grammatical practice.²⁸⁶

9.2.2.2 Lack of correspondence and linguistic explanation

These observations do no more than confirm that form and meaning are not always in one to one correspondence. In this section I will illustrate some of the ramifications of such observations for Arabic theory.

9.2.2.2.1 Ibn Hishām and Ibn Jinnī

Ibn Hishām, who was seen in 3.1.2 to have defined the notion of grammatical form vs. meaning more clearly than most linguists, uses this lack of correspondence to explain what would otherwise be anomalous patterns (ML: 844).

- (22) Something can be given the status of what it resembles in its meaning, its form, or both.^{Q 134}

(a) Formal resemblance

- (23a) la-mā taṣna^Cahu ḥasanun "Indeed what you do
 indeed what you do good is good".

- b) la-mā 'aghfaltu shukra-ka fa ṣṭani^C-nī (ML:
 neg forget I thanks your 891)
 "I did not forget to thank you".

In (23a) one has a la- that is prefixed to the relative pronoun mā "whatever". This la can be added before mā when mā occurs as topic of the sentence.

(b) Meaning affecting form (hamlun ^Calâ l-ma^Cnâ)

(24) ta-ltaqitū-hu ba^Cdu l-sayyārāt-i
 f pick up it some def carts gen
 "Some of the carts pick it up".

In like fashion, in

"He is the best of the youths and the most beautiful"

This discrepancy is explained by observing that the sentence is influenced by the common sentence type (26a).

(26a) huwa 'ahsanu fatâ fî l-nâsi "He is the best
he best youth sg among people youth among
the people".

b) huwa 'ahsanu l-fityân wa 'ajmaluhu (= 25)

The *-hu* is influenced by a singular noun in another sentence type, whose relation to the original is its similar meaning (cf. Quirk 1965 on serial relations).

A third example where the motivating force is semantic similarity involves language change. It is found in Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣ II: 308, 312; also ML: 897, 898). Certain verbs are associated with transitivizing particles (6.3), and it may happen that two verbs have quite similar meanings.

- In such cases it can happen that one of the verbs may take over the preposition of the other, so that in (27b) one can also have

- (c) Meaning and form together

(28a) lam yadhab "He didn't go".
 b) lan yadhab-a "He won't go".
 sbic

(29a) 'a lam nashrah- a (ML: 916, from the **Qur'ân**)
Q neg we explain sbjc
"We did not explain?"²⁸⁷

b) lan yakhib 'al'ân min rajâ'i-ka (yakhib= jus)
neg disappoint now from wish your
"He won't disappoint you now".

The nominative case of the *fāʿil*, agent of the verb, is explained as being due to its verbal governor (cf. 2.3.1). However, it was observed by various authors that the grammatical agent is not always a semantic agent. Thus Sarrāḡ (I: 81) notes that in

- (30) m̃ata zaydun "Zayd died".

zaydun is not a true agent.²⁸⁸

Ibn Jinnî (Khaṣ I: 184, also Ṣaymarî 107 and Zajjâjî's summary Iḍ: 69-71) carries these observations further noting that besides cases like (30) one can in fact have a *fâ'il* "agent" which is not even in the nominative case.

- (31a) 'inna zayd-an qâma "Indeed Zayd stood up".
 indeed acc
- b) 'u^c jibtu min qiyâmi zaydin "I am pleased at
 pleased I from getting up Zayd's getting up".

In (31a) **zaydan** is governed in the accusative case by the particle **'inna** (Ap 6.1.2.2) while in (31b) it is in the genitive, governed by the verbal noun **qiyām**, to which it is possessor. In both cases, however, it is agent. Furthermore, in

(32) ḍuriba zaydun "Zayd was hit".

the noun in the nominative, a subject of a passive verb, is a semantic object (**maf^cūl**), not agent.

To complicate matters still further, in

(33) zaydun qāma "Zayd got up". (Khaṣ I: 196, 342)

zaydun is (semantic) agent and is nominative, but it is not governed by the verb since it is the topic of the sentence (2.1, Ap 2.1.2) and hence grammatically is not called agent (**fā^cil**).

From these observations Ibn Jinnī goes on to reformulate the explanation for why one has a nominative case in (30) and (32) as follows (Khaṣ I: 18).

The grammatical agent is not necessarily any noun which is an agent in meaning, but rather is the noun which follows the verb, and which the verb serves as predicate to.^{α 136}

Here there is a case of semantic observation leading to a reformulation of grammatical explanation, an explanation followed by subsequent grammarians (Zam 18, Anbārī As: 79, IH QN: 180).

There are two points to note here. First, although he distinguishes a grammatical agent, the noun which is in a relation with the verb in the nominative case, from a semantic one, which may not be nominative, he nonetheless does not seek to distinguish them with different terminology.²⁸⁹

Secondly, as noted in 2.4.3, Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣ I: 173) also discusses two explanations for the nominative form of the agent, (1) that it is governed by the verb or (2) it is predicate of the verb (in a relation of **'isnād**). He concludes that either explanation is a possible and sufficient one.

9.2.2.2.3 Semantic constraints on syntactic processes: the specifier and fronting

Yet another role for semantics in grammar can be illustrated with the following type of specification (**tamyīz**) construction (5.2 e.g. (9), Ap 3.2.2; cf. IS I: 268, Zam 68).

- (35) taṣabbaba l-farasu ^Caraqan "The mare dripped
dripped def mare sweat acc sweat".

^Caraqan is a specifier governed in the accusative by the verb. A question arose over whether one could have the specifier (^Caraqan) fronted before the verb, its governor.

- (36) ?^Caraqan taṣabbaba l-farasu

Sibawaih (according to Sarrāj) said 'no' because this specification construction is of a class with another one

- (37) ^Cishrūna dirhaman "20 dirhams"

In this construction all linguists agree that the specifier **dirhaman** cannot be fronted, so fronting is also disallowed in (36) (cf. 8.7.1 e.g. (32)).

Mubarrad (III: 36), however, argues that the two cases are different because in (36) one has a regular verbal governor, whereas in (37) there is a non-verbal governor (^Cishrūna) and all linguists also agree that fronting can occur with a regular verbal governor, but that it may be blocked by a non-verbal one (cf. 8.7, 8.7.1).

Anbārī (As: 198, also Khaṣ II: 384, IY II: 73) referees the dispute in the following way. He notes that the specifier in examples like (35) is in fact the agent in meaning (since it is really sweat that drips down, not the horse),^{Q137} and since the agent can never be fronted before the verb (As: 79 and discussion in IH QN: 181) the specifier cannot be fronted either, since it is a semantic agent. Anbārī (and Ibn Jinnī and Ibn Ya^Cīsh) allows a syntactic constraint (fronting of agent) to apply to a semantic element (the semantic agent) to disallow a sentence like (36).

9.2.2.4 Structural similarities, differences, and semantic generalizations: the nawāsikh ²⁹⁰

Another place where semantics and syntax are out of joint is in the construction involving the topic-comment construction discussed in 2.3.6.1 and briefly in 8.9.3 (e.g. (40c); cf. Ap 6.1.2). It was noted there that there are three constructions which have essentially the formal attributes of a topic-comment construction, but differ from it in their case markings. The formal similarities between these constructions include the following (IS I: 92-113, II: 128, Fārisī Iḍ: 397, Jurjānī Muqt: 399, IY VII: 77-127).

(1) The items which can occur as topic and comment are the same in all cases. One can have, for example, either a simple noun or a sentence, and in the latter case there must be a pronoun referring to the topic.

- (38a) zaydun tawîlun "Zayd is tall".
zaydun 'abû-hu muntaliqun "As for Zayd, his
father-his leaving father is leaving".

topic + comment

- (38b) kâna zaydun tawîlun "Zayd was tall".
kâna zaydun 'abûhu muntaliqun "As for Zayd, his
was father was leaving"

kâna + ism + comment

- (38c) 'inna zaydan tawîlun "Indeed Zayd is tall".
'inna zaydan 'abûhu muntaliqun "As for Zayd,
indeed his father is leaving"

'inna + ism + comment

- (38d) dhanantu zaydan tawîlun "I thought Zayd tall".
dhanantu zaydan 'abûhu muntaliqun
"As for Zayd, I though his father was leaving".

bitransitive complements of dhananna

(2) Both parts of the constuction are obligatory. One cannot have

- (39) *zaydun
*kâna zaydun
*'inna zaydan ²⁹¹
*dhanantu zaydan

(3) **Faṣl**. If the comment and topic are both definite, a pronoun may be added between them to ensure their predicative status (IS II: 128) (**faṣl** pronoun in boldface).

- (40) zaydun huwa l-^Câqilu "Zayd is the intelligent ^{α138}
zayd he def intelligent one". ²⁹²
kâna zaydun huwa l-^Câqila "Zayd was the
was intelligent one".
'inna zaydan huwa l-^Câqilu "Indeed Zayd is the
indeed intelligent one".
dhanantu zaydan huwa l-^Câqila "I thought Zayd the
intelligent one".

In addition, both topic and comment are either identical in meaning (first example in set of (38)), or if not there must be a resumptive pronoun in the comment referring back to the topic (second example in set of (38)).

These similarities were duly noted by the grammarians and the sentences were analyzed as being basically of a topic-comment type, differing only in the type of governor which "enters" (cf. 8.9.3 e.d. (40c)) into this construction (IS I: 276 ff., **Jumal**: 41, 51, **Luma**^C: 119-127, **Zam** 23, 27, 259, 263, **Baṭ** 157, 158, 166, **As**: 133-162, **IH QN**: 116-170, **IA I**: 188-455).

This class of constructions eventually acquired its own name, the **nawāsikh**, these being the governors **kāna**, **'inna**, and **ḡhanna** (and others of their type) which enter a non-verbal sentence (topic and comment) and change the governance relations in it.

I briefly discussed this example in 8.8.3 (e.g (40c)), showing that the process whereby the overt governors of the topic/comment construction, **kāna**, **'inna** and **ḡhanna** "enter" upon the non-verbal sentence was essentially the same as that of any non-basic category entering a more basic one. I concluded that a transformational perspective was not appropriate.

Here I would add the following points.

(1) There are in fact differences between the simple topic-comment construction and the others, as **Baṭalyūṣī** notes (166). The basic topic/comment construction allows a number of particles (mode, emphasis) to occur which are disallowed in the dependent contexts.

(41a) zaydun laqī -tu-hu "As for Zayd (topic) I found
found I him him".

b) kāna zaydun laqī-tu-hu "As for Zayd (**ism**) I had
found him".

but,

(42a) zaydun hal laqītu ? "As for Zayd, did you
Q find him"?

b) *kāna zaydun hal laqītu (**Baṭ** 166)

(2) The different nature of the constructions is recognized in the fact that the topic, **mubtada'** (lit. "what begins") has to be renamed as **ism** "noun" (a functional category, not a word class in this context). This follows from the essentially phrase-structure nature of Arabic theory (no deep/surface structure distinction): the **mubtada'** is what begins the construction, but as soon as an overt governor occurs it is no longer first and hence has a different status.

(3) Each verb has its own inherent valency. **Kāna** is a verb which takes two complements (noun and comment), **ḡhanna** three (agent and two objects, **Mub** IV: 78, **IS I**: 211, **Jumal**: 27, 28, **Zam** 257, 259).²⁹³ In this respect they

are identical to verbs like ḡaraba "hit" and 'a^cṭā "give". The complements are an inherent part of their lexical specification.

It can also be noted here that complements of these verbs do not necessarily only "derive" from a topic-comment structure. Astarābādhī (SK I: 127) discusses the three examples,

- (43a) ḡhanantu 'anna zayd-an ḡāma
 thought I that acc got up
 "I thought that Zayd got up".
 = b) ḡhanantu ḡiyāma zayd-in "I thought Zayd's
 getting up gen getting up".
 = c) ḡhanantu zayd-an ḡā'im-an "I thought Zayd to be
 acc acc getting up".

and argues that the basic member of the paradigm is (43b) with a single direct object. The topic-comment example (43c) is understood in relation to the single object construction with verbal noun object.

(4) There is no technical sense, no specific rule by which the Arabic grammarians derive a sentential complement from a basic topic-comment construction.²⁹⁴

It would appear that the Arabic grammarians viewed the relations between the topic-comment-like structures discussed in this section in terms of their underlying unity while acknowledging their differences as well. Here Arabic theory was flexible (if imprecise) enough to account for the broad semantic and syntactic similarities between the sentences, without having to postulate a categorical identity.

9.2.2.2.5 Possession and the dictates of general assumptions

Finally it is relevant to take an example of a lack of isomorphism between semantics and syntax inspired to some extent by general principles of Arabic theory. This concerns possessive constructions of the type

- (44a) ḡhulāmu zaydin "Zayd's boy"
 gen
 b) bābu sājin "a door of oak"
 gen

(Mub IV: 136 ff., IS II: 3 ff., Ṣaymarī 295, Zam 82 ff., IY I: 117 ff, IH QN: 253 ff., Ast SK I: 21 for a slightly different treatment involving an understood verb as well as genitive particle; cf. n. 295)

In 2.5 it was noted that governance relations are basically between verb (governor) and noun (governed), and

between particle and noun. However, in examples like (44) there clearly is one noun governing another in the genitive. This point is admitted by the Arabic grammarians, though they say (at least from Mubarrad IV: 143) that this governance is allowed only because the phrases can be related semantically to constructions with a particle governor, either *li* "to, for" or *min* "from" (Ibn Hishâm QN: 253 and IA II: 43 add *fī* "at" as well).

- (45a) *'al-ghulâmu li zaydin* "Zayd's boy" ²⁹⁵
 def boy to zayd gen
 b) *'al-bâbu min sâjin* "the door of oak"
 def door from oak gen

Genitive particles, it will be recalled (2.5.1) are basic governors of nouns.

The possessor noun is said to take the place of the particle (As: 279)^{α139} or to be "assumed" (IY I: 117),^{α140} and hence the possessed nouns in (44) govern in the the genitive only by reference to a genitive particle governor.²⁹⁶

While the paraphrases in (45) have a semantic plausibility, this analysis is also made all the more necessary by the assumption that nouns do not inherently govern.

9.3 A separate semantic level?

Many more examples of the type discussed here could be cited. Their existence naturally leads to the question of whether the Arabic grammarians ever established a separate semantic level with its own internal structure and which could be used to account for generalizations which could not be made in syntax.²⁹⁷

The answer is partly 'yes' and partly 'no'.

On the one hand there did develop by the late 12th century, in particular with Sakkâkî a modular approach to the study of language. This included a separate component which Sakkâkî termed *ilm il-ma'ânî* "the science of meaning", a study which derived from the earlier work of linguists such as Sarrâj, Ibn Fâris, Tha'âlâbî, and especially Jurjânî, among others. For Sakkâkî *ilm il-ma'ânî* dealt primarily with the correlation between word order variation on the one hand and on the other the different sentential meanings associated with this variation, and the pragmatic implications of the different choices. I discuss this further in 9.5 ff. below.

This is related to five other disciplines dealing with the study of language. First, *ilm il-bayân* dealt with various types of metaphorical meanings. This, along with the *ilm il-ma'ânî* composed for Sakkâkî (514)

balâgha "rhetoric". The ^Cilm il-'istidlâl "science of logical deduction" was concerned with establishing the truth value of various types of nominal sentences. Within these three sub-disciplines, ^Cilm il-ma^Cânî, ^Cilm il-bayân, and ^Cilm il-'istidlâl such topics as the meaning of word order variation, aspects of lexical and collocational meaning including synonymy antonymy, and metonymy, and logical relations like tautology and contradiction were discussed.

The other sub-disciplines were ^Cilm il-faṣâḥa dealing with correct and appropriate pronunciation (cf. Khafâjî 59), ^Cilm il-shi^Cr the study of poetry, and finally naḥw "syntax" and ṣarf "morphology", which have been the two main topics of the present book.

Within these terms there clearly was the conviction that language needed to be described on more than a level of syntax/morphology.

On the other hand, each of these sub-disciplines tended to have its own prescribed domain and there was relatively little discussion of the interrelations between them, beyond the recognition that a given text could be described simultaneously in terms of the different components outlined above (cf. especially Sakkâkî 417 ff.). The syntactic categories that are summarized in appendix 3 and which constitute the main basis of study in this book were universally assumed to be valid as descriptive categories, and served as a basis for the description of the other sub-disciplines. Word order variation, for instance (^Cilm il-ma^Cânî for Sakkâkî) was discussed entirely in terms of categories like "topic", "comment", "verb", "agent", "verbal sentence", "nominal sentence", and so on.

Within these limits it was difficult to effectively address certain problems which were indeed recognized to exist. For instance, having recognized that the semantic properties of agent (fā^Cil) and those of grammatical agent do not always correspond (9.2.2.2.2), did the Arabic grammarians establish two levels of agent, fā^Cil₁ = grammatical agent vs. FĀ^CIL₂ = semantic agent? The answer as seen above is 'no'.²⁹⁸ The distinction between grammatical vs. semantic agent is implicit in Ibn Jinnî's discussion (Khaṣ I: 185) and in Anbārî's treatment of the specification construction, but it is implicit only.²⁹⁹

The failure to distinguish between semantic and syntactic levels of analysis can in places lead to an ad hoc analysis. Accepting Ibn Jinnî's observations that the semantic agent corresponds to various syntactic

noun types, then it becomes suspect for Anbârî³⁰⁰ to invoke a separate constraint to explain the incorrectness of a sentence like (36, = 46).

- (46) *Caragan tasabbaba l-farasu
 sweat dripped def mare
 specifier
 semantic ag syntactic agent

Ibn Jinnî shows that semantic agents occur in different sorts of syntactic constructions (possessors, subjects, etc.). However, if they have different properties from syntactic agents there is no a priori reason why they could not occur fronted in constructions like (46). One may of course find support for Anbârî's constraint, but it is not immediately obvious that it is not ad hoc.

The semantic theory of the grammarians is closely tied to the syntactic and morphological categories, and indeed in the unmarked case (9.2.1) they are virtually isomorphic: syntactic and morphological (cf. 3.6 and Q 68) categories mirror semantic ones. To the extent that they are congruent there is really no need to develop a separate semantic theory. However, there are instances where syntax and semantics are out of phase with each other, as seen in 9.2.2.2.-4, and as will be discussed in 9.5 ff. At such discordant interfaces the need for a further descriptive level is certainly hinted at. In some cases it was provided, as will be seen in 9.5 ff. below; in others (9.2.2.2.2/4) the problem went largely unanswered.^{301 302}

Before leaving this discussion I can note one further aspect of semantic analysis, that between phonology and semantics. Ibn Jinnî (Khaṣ II: 155 ff., III: 219, 264, also Sakkâkî 357), who more than any other Arabic linguist was an advocate of sound symbolism, observes that in certain cases sound replicates meaning. His best example is that of geminated verbs, where the doubling of the root consonant mirrors the class meaning of the form (cf. 3.6), namely that of repetition or intensity of action.^{α141}

- (47) kasara "he broke s.t." kassara "he smashed s.t."
 (cf. also 8.4.2 e.g. (7))

9.4 Arabic grammar and transformational theory

I have discussed parallels between Arabic theory and the base/surface opposition of generative grammar in 8.9. Here I think it relevant to explore whether Arabic theory had anything comparable to a transformational component.

It will be appreciated that the type of phenomena discussed especially in 9.2 cannot be considered transformational in any sense. Rather, it simply shows that Arabic grammarians realized that form and meaning were not always in correspondence, and in this respect their observations only corroborate conclusions that have been arrived at by probably every grammatical tradition in the history of linguistics.

The deep structure of the classical transformational model is not based on the discrepancy between semantics and syntax, but on the discrepancy between syntactic structures at different levels of analysis, a deep level and a surface level. In his seminal work, **Syntactic Structures**, Chomsky has no specific place at all for semantics,³⁰³ and when a semantic theory is formally added it applies to syntactic deep structures (Jackendoff 1972). That is, in the classical model (as opposed to say generative semantics) deep structures are syntactic objects which receive a semantic interpretation by a specific set of rules.

In TG the transformational component is called upon to get from a syntactic deep structure to a syntactic surface structure. Thus, if it is assumed that active sentences are more basic than passive ones, and if there are independent reasons for making this assumption (e.g. that it simplifies the grammar), then one can generate an active sentence and derive a passive sentence by applying one or more transformations to the base structure. These transformations have specific properties in terms of the structures they apply to and the operations they perform.

Does Arabic theory have any processes that resemble transformational grammar in this respect? The answer is that it has very few. In fact, I can think of only two prime candidates.

The first concerns the choice of subject of a passive verb discussed in 6.5, and the second is a construction called *'ikhbār* (Mub IV: 352, IS II: 288-327, Sakkâfi 195, Zam 145), which can be called "focalization".

This process allows one to pick out a noun from a sentence and to identify it using a construction of the type "the one who did x is y". Mubarrad (IV: 352) describes this as follows.

You say 'Zayd got up' and if you are told to comment (*'akhbir*) on Zayd you would make Zayd the comment and put the verb in the dependent clause (*silā*) of the noun of which Zayd becomes comment... ^{α 142}

[illegible]

This description (given further in 2.12.2) has a transformational ring to it, where a step by step procedure is outlined for transforming one structure into another. The transformational-like character of the rule is further reinforced by Sarrâj (II: 288-327, also Şaymarî 525-38) where he gives a detailed description of the class of nouns to which the rule applies, a description which resembles a discussion of the domain of a transformational rule and constraints that apply to it.³⁰⁴

One can also bear in mind that there is no sense in which a sentence like (48a) serves as a deep structure for (48b) since sentences like (48b) are "base" sentences as well (IS II: 334, Zam 142). In this perspective the discourse function of a rule like (48) becomes more apparent, as it is simply a rule specifying how one switches from one structure to another to achieve a certain discourse effect.

(49) The women (may) write letters <---> the women's
writing letters

Further in Harris, the basic kernel sentences on which transformations operate are actual sentences (Harris 1955/1981: 197).

For Chomsky on the other hand, derivations start from an abstract deep structure and move unidirectionally to the surface.

While there are thus a few close analogies to be made between Arabic theory and transformational grammar, there are not many, and even if it can be shown that in certain respects Arabic grammatical theory has resemblances to TG, a comparison of the overall design of the two reveals too many differences to give the comparison much depth.

If one were to look for closer analogies between Arabic and modern linguistic theory one can most profitably look at phrase structure grammars, grammars which have a single level of grammatical description (Bloomfield, Tesnière, Halliday and the systemic tradition, Pike, Brame (base-generated syntax) as well as others. If Arabic grammatical theory is viewed in this light one can see its failure to systematically account for the data discussed in 9.2 (i.e. the failure to account for it in terms of their own grammatical categories) as a failure to recognize that a level of formal analysis besides the essentially monostratal grammatical level of analysis was needed.

9.5 Jurjānī, language and communication

Until the present day the relation between syntax and semantics has not been effectively clarified within the framework of traditional Arabic grammatical theory. However, there is one sub-component of grammar that was brilliantly defined by the eleventh century linguist Jurjānī (particularly in his *Dalā'il al-'Ilm* 'I^cjāz).

Jurjānī assumed for his basic frame of reference that language (1) was used for communication and (2) meaning takes precedence over form. With these two assumptions he builds a dimension into Arabic grammatical theory that gives it a new degree of comprehensiveness. I would claim that with Jurjānī Arabic grammatical theory reached its zenith, and I might even suggest that with Jurjānī Arabic theory achieved a degree of sophistication in the synchronic description of language that was to be unrivalled until the present century.³⁰⁵

Jurjānī followed a long line of Arabic linguists, some brilliant, most highly competent, and so by his time Arabic grammatical theory had achieved a high degree of cohesiveness and stability. Jurjānī accepted this framework in full, in fact writing a very good and detailed, though very orthodox commentary on Fārisī's *Idāh* (called '*Al-Muqtaṣid*'), and he built his analysis on it.

However, he brings a special emphasis to the analysis of language by looking at it in terms of its communicative function. He therefore puts great emphasis on the analysis of language in context, either textual context (he draws many of his examples from poetry) or situational. I concentrate on this latter aspect of his work. Indicative of his emphasis on communication is his frequent use of the term *sāmi*^c "listener" (e.g. pp. 2, 35, 94, 119, 144, 181, 216, 225, 269, 311, 366, 416 to mention but a few places). The value of speech is judged against its effect on the listener.

To communicate one must have something meaningful to say (Dal: 35), hence Jurjānī emphasizes continually that he is concerned with the meaning, not the form of the message, and that meaning must take precedence over form. This meaning can be lexical, "Words are arranged in phonetic forms, by virtue of the meaning that the individual attaches to them."^{α 143} More importantly, however meaning is conveyed by arrangements of words into coherent wholes, and indeed this holistic perspective takes precedence over the meaning of individual words, "Correct speech is not manifested in individual words, but rather in specific arrangements."^{α 144}

Indeed, Jurjānī suggests in places that there is no such thing as lexical meaning. He says for instance that in the sentence

(50) daraba zaydun Amran yawma l-jum'ati darban
 hit zayd Amr day Friday hitting
 shadīdan ta'dīban lahu (Dal: 316)
 hard punishing for him

"Zayd really hit Amr a hard blow Friday, to discipline him"

"you derive a single meaning from the sentence, not a series of meanings based on the individual words."^{α 145}

As one piece of evidence in support of this he notes that if it were the case that individual words had a meaning outside of the context they were used in, then that would imply that the individual words of the *Qur'ān* had the meanings they have in the *Qur'ān* before they were used in it. This, however, is impossible as the *Qur'ān* is the revealed word of God and hence unique (296). His point, however, certainly has a validity no matter what text one is talking about.

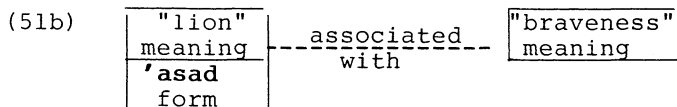
For Jurjānī meaning is closely tied to the grammatical structure of the sentence, and in fact he goes so far as to identify the organization (*naḍhm*, cf. Rammuny 1985:8) of a sentence with the grammatical meaning.^{α 146} That

is, once one has thought of a meaning, it must be expressed in a correct grammatical structure.

A good deal of the *Dalā'il* is given over to a discussion of metaphorical meaning. I will not discuss this here, except to note one instance of how he uses the existence of metaphorical meaning to argue for the priority of meaning over form. He distinguishes two sorts of meaning, literal (*lafḍhiyya*) and metaphorical (*majāz*) and notes that to get a metaphorical meaning one must start first with a literal one which is associated with the phonetic form (*lafḍh*) of a word. This literal meaning, however, can lead to an association with another meaning which may not be implied in the form of the word (Dal: 202).^{α147} For example the sentence

(51a) *ra'aytu 'asadan* (Dal: 203, 209)
saw I lion "I saw a lion".

could literally mean that you saw a lion. However, "lion" in this context could be associated with the property of braveness (*shajā'a*) and hence (51a) could mean that you saw a brave person. This meaning is not arrived at directly through the form *'asad*, but rather through a meaning associated with "lion". This can be diagrammed as follows.



"I saw a lion". = "I saw a brave man".

The meaning is conveyed via the semantic association of lion = braveness, where "braveness" has no phonetic representation in the sentence.

9.6 Jurjānī and the Arabic linguistic tradition

As Baalbaki (1983, cf. also Sezgin 1984: 11) has emphasized, very little of the material that Jurjānī used had not already been defined and used by those before him, and few of his ideas are really original with him.

Rather his work can be seen at times as a reaction against earlier linguists, who for instance gave little attention to metaphor (e.g. Zajjājī *Jumal*: 38) or rejected it altogether (Mub III: 342), at least in certain instances.³⁰⁶ More often it can be viewed as a development and synthesis of ideas which had already been set out in greater or lesser detail by his predecessors. One of Jurjānī's major areas of research, word sequence, had already been treated in detail by Sarrāj (II: 131-266)

as had the grammatical properties of non-verbal sentences (IS I: 71 ff., and all subsequent grammars). The semantic implications of word order variation in non-verbal sentences had been sketched by Ibn Burhān (I: 34), who died some twenty years before Jurjānī.

The importance of a holistic sentential analysis is found in Zajjājī (Iḍ: 49) who notes that a noun must have a relation to another word to give it a full meaning, and Ibn Jinnī (Khaṣ III: 331) argues that the meaning of a sentence depends on its total organization more than on the meaning of its individual words^{α148} and he also claimed (Khaṣ II: 447) that most language is metaphorical.^{α149} Interesting in this context is the language of Khafājī, who, although working mainly within the context of compatible sound sequences speaks frequently of the *naḍhm* "organization" of a word's sounds, a term applied frequently by Jurjānī to sentence organization (cf. Rammuny 1985).

Nonetheless, one perhaps feels that a linguist like Ibn Jinnī's emphasis on sentential meaning was more an article of faith than one of practice, and certainly his major contribution is in the field of morphology, the analysis of individual words. Thus when Jurjānī emphasizes the communicative aspect of language he puts into practice what Ibn Jinnī had treated only formulaically; when he insists on studying meanings in context he is reacting to a tradition which could be content to summarize and exhaustively classify and offer explanations without always appreciating, or at least without conveying to the reader, why the classifications were being made.

9.7 Word order

Jurjānī covered a number of grammatical topics in his *Dalā'il* including deletion, indefinite subjects, negation (including an incipient analysis of scope of negation), coordination, conditional complements (*ḥāl*), relative clauses and the use of certain discourse markers (e.g. *'innamā*). However, I think his most interesting discussion concerns sequence, and this is what I will concentrate on in the remaining sections.

9.7.1 Topic-comment and verb-predicate

The two basic sentence types are verbal and non-verbal (Ap 2.1, 2.2) where by definition a verbal sentence is one which begins with a verb, and a nominal one one with a pre-verbal nominative NP (cf. (1-4) in 2.1).

Non-verbal

(52a) zaydun ṭawīlun "Zayd is tall".

zaydun qâma "Zayd stood up".

Top Com

Verbal

(52b) qâma zaydun "Zayd stood up".

verb ag

Arabic grammarians noted similarities between (52a) and (52b), for instance that in both of them **zaydun** serves as an agent in meaning (Khaṣ I: 196, cf. 9.2.2.2.2), though were insistent that structurally **zaydun** in (52a) had to be a topic but in (52b) an agent (Mub II: 129, IS I: 208, **Jumal**: 37, **Luma**: 109, Baṭ 83, QN: 182). While there are indeed structural justifications for this analysis,³⁰⁷ one is lead to ask why the language should have two different structures for what is nearly the same meaning.³⁰⁸

9.7.1.1 Important item first

It is Jurjānī's achievement to have provided a more systematic explanation for word order variation than any of his predecessors.³⁰⁹ His basic point, which Baalbaki (1983, also Rammuny 1985: 3) notes was made in Sībawaih (cf. also Naḥḥās I: 216), is that the important item comes first. Sībawaih however, never developed this point in detail.

Jurjānī illustrates this with the following example (Dal: 84, cf. also Sakkākī 237-239).

(53a) qatala l-khārijīyya zaydun "Zayd killed the
killed outsider acc outsider".

b) qatala zaydun l-khārijīyya "

In (53a) the one who is killed is more important than the killer, while in (53b) the killer is more important.³¹⁰ Importance is relative to the context and the specific intentions of the speaker. For instance, if it is known to the interlocutors that the outsider was bad and deserved being done away with, then (53a) would be appropriate since killing befits the circumstances surrounding the person. Jurjānī emphasizes that it is important not simply to know which noun is important, but also to be able to explain why it is. ^{Q150}

9.7.1.2 New/old information

Jurjānī then goes on to discuss a basic rule of rule order which is based essentially on the notions of new and old information. Similarities to recent analyses along the lines of old/new (Halliday 1976) or focus/pre-supposition (Jackendoff 1972: 229 ff.) will be clear,

except that the Arabic analysis is based only on word order without regard to intonation.³¹¹

In sentences with a verb -- and these may not be verbal sentences in the narrow sense illustrated in (e.g. (52b, i.e they may be verb second, not verb initial), the item which is most important comes first. I will call this sentence initial position the focus and the rest of the sentence the presupposition. The use of Jackendoff's (1972) terminology is intentional and, I think, appropriate.

Jurjānī considers three types of sentences that contain a verb: yes-no questions, negatives and indicatives. For all three the structure is the same: the initial position, the focus, is (1) most important and (2) in some sense "new", whereas the rest of the sentence has old information and is in some sense presupposed. For noun-initial sentences I will use translations of the type "the one who did the action is/was x; it was/is x who did the action".

9.7.1.2.1 Yes-no

He begins with yes-no questions (pp. 87-96).

- | | | |
|-------|---|-----------------------------|
| (54a) | Focus | Presupposition |
| | 'a taf ^C alu | dhâka "Are you doing that"? |
| | Q you do | that |
| | 'a tabnī | hadhihi l-dâra |
| | Q you build | this def house |
| | "Are you building this house"? | |
| b) | 'a 'anta | taf ^C alu |
| | Q you | you do |
| | 'a 'anta | tabnī hadhihi l-dâra |
| | Q | you build this house |
| | "Is it you who is building this house"? | |

In (54a) you are concentrating on whether the action occurred. You may not be sure it did, whereas in (54b) you are reasonably sure it happened, but want to find out whether **you** ('anta) did the action. In (54a) the doer of the action is not in question but rather the existence of the action, whereas in (54b) the action is presupposed and one is looking for the doer.^{α 151}

The focus position can be taken by functions other than verb or agent, as in

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------|---------|-----------|-----------------|
| (55) | 'a zaydan | taḍrubu | (Dal: 95) | "Is it Zayd you |
| | Q | you hit | | are hitting"? |

Jurjānī does not give examples of any function other than agent, object or verb in focus position, however.

- | | | |
|--------|--------------------|---|
| (58) | Focus | Presupposition |
| a) | <u>mā zaydan</u> | <u>ḍarabtu</u> "It wasn't Zayd whom
hit I I hit". |
| b) | * <u>mā zaydan</u> | <u>ḍarabtu wa lā 'aḥmada</u>
and not |
| | | "It wasn't Zayd I hit, nor did I hit Ahmad". |
| cf. c) | <u>mā ḍarabtu</u> | <u>zaydan wa lā 'aḥmada</u>
"I didn't hit either Zayd or Ahmad". |

In the examples in (56) the action itself is negated, in (57) the doer is negated but the action presupposed, and in (58a/b) the object is negated but the action itself is assumed to have occurred. ^{α 152}

Following this basic analysis he gives a number of contrasts where negation with the verb in focus position is correct, but that with the noun incorrect (cf. also Qazwīnī 45 ff.).

(57a) and (57b) would be inappropriate if the action did not take place (if no one was hit) because the action is presupposed though the doer in the focus position associated with this action is not. In (57c) there is a contradiction. The action of hitting Zayd is presupposed, but if this is the case I could not also be generous to him, and similarly in (57d) the action of hitting Zayd is presupposed (though "I" did not do it), but in the second part of the sentence it is asserted that that action did not occur. Finally (57f) is incorrect since 'illā serves to contradict the negative mā and hence to affirm that Zayd was hit, and that "I" hit him (since the -tu in ḍarabtu signals "I"). However, 'anā is also negated by mā, which means "I" could not have done the action. The sentence is contradictory.

The same interpretation applies in (58b) where the object is in the focus position. (58b) is incorrect since the action of hitting, ḍarabtu, is presupposed, but what follows it wa lā 'aḥmada suggests it did not take place. This contrasts with (58c) where the entire action is negated.

9.7.1.2.3 Indicative

The final set of forms concerns the position of the subject in the non-negative indicative.

- | | | |
|------|--|----------------|
| (59) | Focus | Presupposition |
| | 'anā | <u>katabtu</u> |
| a) | "It was I who wrote (not someone else)". | |
| b) | "I did write". | |

Here Jurjānī says that the subject might be put in the focus position for two reasons, either to emphasize that "I"

did it rather than someone else^{α153} and/or to confirm that the action did indeed pertain to "me", the noun standing in focus position.^{α154}

The difference between the two would seem to be that in (59a) one is specifically contrasting the focused noun with some members of a set, excluding any other individuals from being excluded from the action, whereas in (59b) one wants to confirm that the focused noun pertains to the action, without necessarily denying that the same action could pertain to other individuals.

9.7.2 Multi-systemic analyses

The important point in this analysis is that Jurjānī has succeeded in bringing together within one category of analysis pairs of sentences which have quite different grammatical analyses.

(60) Verbal sentence	Non-verbal (nominal sentence)
<u>mā</u> <u>ḍarabtu</u> <u>zaydan</u>	<u>mā</u> <u>'anā</u> <u>ḍarabtu</u> <u>zaydan</u>
neg hit I zayd	I
verb ag	top com
<u>katab-tu</u>	<u>'anā</u> <u>katabtu</u>
wrote I	I wrote I
verb ag	top com

The sentences on the left are verbal sentences, those on the right non-verbal (Ap 2.1, 2.2), and in any Arabic grammar they are treated under completely different sentence types (cf. e.g. (52) and discussion in 9.7.1). Jurjānī, however, explains their differences not only in terms of different grammatical categories, but also in terms of information structure, where the choice of what one put first depends on how the speaker wants to organize the information in the clause.

Since, contrary to Rammuny's claim,³¹³ Jurjānī does not reject the grammatical analyses of (60) (cf. e.g. Muqt 93 ff.), it follows that what he develops is a multi-systemic analysis of the clause. On the one hand there is the grammatical analysis of (52), on the other the analysis in terms of information, as in (54-59).³¹⁴ The approach quite clearly recalls Halliday's (1967, 1968, 1976) multi-systemic analysis of the clause, where any clause structure has four independent and simultaneous analyses: the transitivity component (expressed in terms of grammatical functions), the information component (new/old realized in terms of intonation), the thematic (what one is talking about, realized generally by sequence) and the logical (subject/predicate).

For Jurjānī the grammatical analysis parallels the transitivity component and the various word order variations the information component (focalized item in boldface).

(61)	<u>mā</u>	<u>ḍarabtu</u>	<u>zaydan</u>	<u>mā</u>	<u>'anā</u>	<u>ḍarabtu</u>	<u>zaydan</u>
	neg	hit I	zayd		I	hit I	
gram.		verb ag			top	com	
analysis							
information	focus	presup-		focus	presupposition		
analysis	(new)	position		(new)	(old)		
		(old)					

9.7.3 Unmarked sequence

It would appear that for sentence which contain a verb Jurjānī assumes an unmarked verb first sequence. In indicative clauses for instance (e.g. (59)) he does not explain at all what the meaning of a verb first sentence is in terms of its focus/presupposition.

(62) qāma zaydun "Zayd got up".

The unmarked case thus seems to have the verb in focus position, which implies a basic VSO order (as has been argued for on independent grounds by a number of modern linguists writing on classical Arabic (e.g. Bākir 1981, Ajlouni 1985)).

9.7.4 Terminological difficulties

Finding terminology for Jurjānī's analyses is not without its problems. For example, when he introduces his chapter on sequence he gives a long example (partly summarized in 9.7.1.1) explaining that the standard rule of sequence is that what is important comes first. From his example one can identify "what is important" with 'given' in the modern linguistic sense. What is 'given' is 'old' information that has been established in the discourse in some way. Thus, in his example

(62) qatala l-khārijīyya zaydun "Zayd killed the outsider".

l-khārijīyya is first because it is more important, and it is more important because the conversation has been about the outsider (Dal: 85).

Furthermore, one also might associate "what is important" in this example with the thematic element. The thematic element is what the speaker is talking about (Halliday 1976: 180). In most cases the thematic item will be 'given', though this is not always the case (e.g. wh-questions in English, where the **wh** element

is thematic, but not given). In example (62) **l-khārijīyya** would appear to be both given and thematic.

However, in his examples in (54-59) the given item is in the presupposition, the new in the focus.

- (63) mā 'anā darabtu zaydan "It is not I who hit
 neg I hit I Zayd".
 focus presupposition

The action of hitting is presupposed, while what is new is the dissociation of "me" from this action.³¹⁵ Thus, "most important" can be identified with old, given information as in (62), but with new information, as in (63).

It therefore appears that the parallel between Jurjānī and modern linguistics in terms of new/focus = initial position, old/presupposed = non-initial works only where one is contrasting noun-initial with verb-initial structures (54-59). If the verb is initial and is followed by two complement nouns (e.g. 53, 62), then the sequence of the two nouns seems to be determined by a different set of principles, where "most important" may have to be identified with the old/thematic element in the clause.³¹⁶

9.7.5 Definite topic-comment sentence

Definiteness in non-verbal equational sentences had been discussed in detail by linguists long before Jurjānī. Sarrāj (I: 71 ff.) for instance notes that one can have four orders of definiteness between topic and comment: definite topic, indefinite comment; indefinite + indefinite; definite + definite; indefinite + definite. The unmarked situation is for topic to be definite, comment indefinite, since the function of the comment is to provide some new, relevant information about a known subject, and new information by definition is indefinite (IS I: 67, 68, Muqt: 705, cf. 9.4).

Ibn Jinnī (Khas I: 317) makes the interesting observation that when one has a locative predicate and indefinite subject, one frequently finds the sequence comment+topic.

- (64) la-ka mālun
 to you money "You have money".
 comment topic

The usual sequence is topic-comment, but when the topic is indefinite it may take the second position, its indefiniteness corresponding with the inherent indefiniteness of second (comment) position.^{α155}

Besides these points, however, there is little attempt to explain sequence in the non-verbal sentences. In fact, Ibn Jinnī (*Luma*^C: 110) goes so far as to suggest that when both topic and comment are definite, either noun can be made topic or comment.^{Q 156}

Jurjānī, echoing Ibn Burhān's (^CUkbarī) (I: 34) commentary on Ibn Jinnī's *Luma*^C, specifically rejects Ibn Jinnī's assessment of sequence in non-verbal sentences, arguing that in all cases changes in sequence correspond to changes in meaning (Rammuny 1985: 19). However, Jurjānī's explanations are not altogether clear, and so I think it best to start with a rather different types of construction which nonetheless appears to have the same type of distinctions present in the non-verbal sentences. The construction is the "exception" ('*istithnā*' Dal: 260-261, cf. Ap 3.2.3).

- (65a) mā ḡaraba zaydan 'illā amrun
neg hit zayd except amr
"No one hit Zayd except Amr".

- b) mā ḡaraba amrun 'illā zaydan (same meaning)

In both sentences *zaydan* is object, ^C*amrun* agent. However, (65a) would be used if you want to identify Amr somehow, that Amr and not someone else did the hitting for example, and (65b) if one wanted to identify something about Zayd, that he and not someone else was hit. Here one can identify the noun after '*illā* "except" as the focus, the new information. The first noun, on the other hand, (*zaydan* in (65a), ^C*amrun* in (65b)) is old information.

A similar situation obtains in the unmarked situation with equative sentences. The old information is encoded in the (sequentially first) topic, and the new (= focus) in the comment). This is an analysis accepted by perhaps all Arabic linguists (IS I: 64, Jurjānī Dal: 146, cf. 9.4) and one can tentatively equate grammatical topic with old information (presupposition, 'topic' in Halliday's terminology) and comment with new (focus).³¹⁷

As Halliday (1976: 183) notes, however, a problem arises in the case of definite equatives, since definiteness already implies a degree of topicality. In similar fashion Jurjānī (Dal: 136) notes that the difference between,

- (66a) zaydun muntaliqun "Zayd is leaving".
b) zaydun il-muntaliqun "Zayd is the one leaving".
def leaving

is that in (66a) the act of going out is new information, while in (66b) one is aware that an act of leaving

has taken place, but does not know who exactly to associate it with.^{α 157}

He goes on to say that (66b) would be appropriate where one knows that an act of leaving has taken place, and one may have an idea that Zayd is the one who left. (66b) then confirms this.

He realizes, however, that the problem comes when one wants to distinguish (66b) from (66c) (Dal: 144 ff.).

(66c) 'al-munṭaliḡu zaydun
def leaving "The one leaving is Zayd".

(66c) is related to a series of other sentences, including

(66d) 'al-'amīru zaydun (Dal: 147)
def prince "The prince is Zayd".
e) 'al-lābisu l-dībāji sāhibu-ka (Dal: 146)
def wearing def cloak friend your
"The one wearing the cloak is your friend".

For (66d/e) the meaning is reasonably clear: for example you see someone wearing a cloak, but you do not immediately recognize who it is, until someone tells you it is your friend. One can see here the topic-comment, old-new structure working even in the case of definite equatives.

However, this distinction is perhaps not so clear in Jurjānī's explanation of the difference between (36b) and (36c), where sequence is minimally distinctive. I quote Jurjānī's explanation at length.

If you said 'Zayd is the one leaving' (zaydun il-munṭaliḡu = 36b), and you are aware that the leaving is taking place, and the listener is aware of this, except that it is not known if it is associated with Zayd or Amr, then if you said 'Zayd is the one leaving' (36b) you erase the doubt and you confirm that it is Zayd who is leaving, whereas before you knew only that this was a possibility... However, if you fronted 'al-munṭaliḡu (= 66c) ...the meaning is as if you saw a person leaving from far away, and he wasn't clear, so you do not know whether it is Zayd or Amr then your friend tells you "The one leaving is Zayd" (66c), that is, the one whom you see from far away is Zayd.^{α 158}

The explanation of 'al-munṭaliḡu zaydun I think is consistent with the explanation of the meaning of 'al-lābisu l-dībāji zaydun (66e). In both one is proceeding from the known to the unknown, from topic to focus.

However, less clear is the difference of these with (66b), which he does not really explain in the above quote. (66b) is not simply the opposite of (66c), where one uses 'al-munṭaliqu to identify something new, since Jurjānī makes it clear that the act of leaving is known to have taken place in both.³¹⁸

Without speculating Jurjānī's intentions here, which I believe are not clear, it is worthwhile to note the explanation of Qazwīnī, a later follower in the tradition of Jurjānī. His explanation it quoted at length.

If the listener knew the person called Zayd, and knew that an act of leaving had taken place, but did not know if it was Zayd or someone else who left, and if you wanted to inform him that Zayd was the one who left you would say **zaydun il-munṭaliqu** (66b), and if you wanted to inform him that the leaver was Zayd you would say (66c) 'al-munṭaliqu **zaydun**.^{α 159}

Similarly, if the listener knows a person called Zayd, in person and name, and he knows the meaning of a specific act of leaving, and you want to inform him that Zayd fits this description, you would say **zaydun il-munṭaliqu** (= 66b), and if you want to relate to Zayd the property of leaving you would say 'al-munṭaliqu **zaydun**.^{α 160}

From the first of Qazwīnī's explanations I think the main point is that one chooses for topic the item which is thematic in the sense of Halliday (1976: 179, 180). The thematic element is the item the speaker wants to establish as the subject of the conversation. Qazwīnī says one would use

(67a = 66b) zaydun il-munṭaliqu
 top com
 thematic

if you want to inform the listener that Zayd is the one who left, but

(67b = 66c) 'al-munṭaliqu zaydun
 top com
 thematic

"...if you wanted to inform him that the leaver was Zayd". That is, you put in the topic the item you want to discuss something about with the listener.

More speculatively, I will interpret the second quote in terms of Halliday's (1976: 183-184) distinction between encoding and decoding equatives, a distinction which, like the current examples from Jurjānī and Qazwīnī, applies only when both parts of the equative sentence are definite.

An encoding equative essentially adds some new information about a noun by specifying its function, whereas a decoding equative identifies the noun by matching it with another noun. The sentence,

(68) John is the leader

would be an encoding equative if it is intended to provide information about John (his function). It would be a decoding equative if it is used to identify the leader (which of the set is the leader).³¹⁹

In Qazwīnī's second quote this encoding/decoding distinction can perhaps be seen in the difference between

(69a) zaydun il-munṭaliqu (decoding, relative to Zayd)
 top com
 thematic

b) 'al-munṭaliqu zaydun (encoding, relative to Zayd)
 top com
 thematic

In (69a) you are searching for a noun, **zaydun**, which fits the description of "the one leaving", whereas in (69b) you "relate to Zayd the property of leaving", which is to say you attribute a quality to him.

The interpretation of (69b) as an encoding equative is perhaps supported by the discussion of another linguist, Sakkākī. He says (214) that a proper name like **zayd** would be used as a predicate only when it has the interpretation "possessing the name Zayd", and then paraphrases (69b) as, "the one associated with leaving has the name Zayd". One is interested in "Zayd" only insofar as it provides a label for another noun (**'al-munṭaliqu** here). "Zayd" appears to be construed more of an as object (a label, 'it') than as a person ('he').

It is, however, difficult to verify these associations, particularly in regards to the encoding/decoding analogy, first because, as I have noted, Jurjānī is somewhat unclear, and secondly because not a great number of examples are given. It thus is perhaps not possible to generalize the encoding/decoding structure to sentences like

(70) 'al-mudarrisu l-qā'imu "The teacher is the one
 def teacher def standing standing".

which have definite common nouns in topic and comment position.³²⁰

Jurjānī's and Qazwīnī's analysis cannot be said to be wholly conclusive, from a modern perspective. In particular there is lacking a fully integrated analysis of thematic and information structure. Three different explanations are thus given for sequence in three different constructions:

- (1) sequence of agent/object post verbally (first item is more important; cf. (53))
- (2) initial position in sentences with a verb (new information first, (54-59))
- (3) definite equative sentences (thematic item first, difference between encoding/decoding equatives hinted at (66-70))

Even if Jurjānī and his followers cannot be said to have formulated a fully coherent theory about the distribution of information in the clause, their achievement was considerable in pointing the way towards the importance of a new dimension of analysis in linguistic theory.

9.8 Epilogue

In conclusion the question can be posed whether the Arabic grammarians achieved their stated aim, that of accounting for and explaining all the facts of the Arabic language. Here I think one must disagree with Sakkākī (9.3 above), who thought their goal close at hand. One has seen that at nearly all points in Arabic theory there are loose ends, unresolved disputes, disputes arbitrarily decided in favor of one party or the other, interesting intimations whose consequences were not adequately followed through on, and components not fully integrated with each other. The frailties of Arabic theory look decidedly modern.

This brings me to a final thought that I believe highlights the importance of Arabic theory for an understanding of modern linguistics. In Arabic theory one has a formal model developed around a non-Indo-European language, and to a considerable degree (cf. n. 12) outside the western intellectual tradition. To the extent that its development is independent, the possibility exists to develop a study of comparative grammatical theory (to which other traditions, like the Indian, certainly belong) centered on the question: to what extent do common descriptive and explanatory categories appear in historically unrelated linguistic theories, and if they do, why?

Viewed in these terms the study of the Arabic and other non-western grammatical traditions becomes more than a question of redressing the overwhelming emphasis on the European³²¹ tradition in the study of the history of linguistics; more interestingly, it suggests a new dimension to the study of linguistic theory.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. By 'western' here and elsewhere I mean those trained in the western tradition, not necessarily those who are politically and geographically 'western'.

2. I follow Morton (1982: 9) in taking transformational-generative grammar to be part of the structuralist tradition.

3. For references appearing in volumes of collected articles I use a slash notation. The first date is the original time of publication, the second the year of the volume I used.

4. For background reading, Carter 1981 can be highly recommended. This is an annotated translation of a short sixteenth century Arabic grammar

5. One can call a word 'dense' if there is a relatively small amount of editorial comment in the modern text. By contrast, I would call Mubarrad's **Muqtaḍab** a 'sparse' 1350 pages (in 4 volumes), since perhaps 40% of it is given over to (very useful) editorial comment.

6. This change occurred in the course of the ninth century. Carter (1973b: 297, 298) credits the early ninth century Kufan linguist Farrâ' with being the first to use the term **naḥwiyyûna** in the technical sense of "grammarians", even if his predecessors carried on linguistic discussion at a sophisticated level (Talmon 1982, Carter 1985: 265).

For Carter, Sîbawaih represented a radical break with previous grammatical tradition. Against this, Beck (1946), Belguedj (1973), Versteegh (1980b: 34, 1983b), Talmon (1982, 1985: 130) and Sezgin (1984: 5 ff.) argue for a gradualist interpretation of the development of Arabic grammatical theory, with Sîbawaih one of the more important figures.

Probably this debate has no final resolution, tied as it is to the question of the role of individuals in determining historical events. What is indisputable, however, is that Sîbawaih is the greatest of the Arabic linguists and hence one of the great figures of linguistics.

7. Sarrâj's pupil Zajjâjî has a chapter in his **Tḍâḥ** (p. 89) explaining why the study of grammar is known as **naḥw**. I should note that **naḥw** can include both syntax and morphology, though it can also be used to mean syntax as opposed to morphology.

8. In later theory (e.g. Anbârî's **Luma^c**) the study of the **'uṣūl** "foundations, principles" became associated strictly with explanation. Suyûtî (Iq: 28) calls the descriptive account of Arabic grammar **'ilmu lnaḥw** "the science/knowledge of grammar" as opposed to the **'uṣūl**, the explanatory principles.

9. The end point chosen in this study is perhaps more arbitrary. Not a great deal separates Ibn Hishâm, for instance, from the late fifteenth century linguist Suyûtî. However, one distinctive point in the late fourteenth century is Ibn Hishâm's **Mughnî l-Labîb**. This monumental work summarizes a great deal of the linguistic argumentation that went on during the preceding seven centuries, it weighs the various arguments for particular topics and suggests which is the best, and classifies and organizes common themes which may have appeared in disparate places in his predecessors' work. To some degree it is a summation of the six centuries covered in this study.

10. Lughda (223), a contemporary of Mubarrad, is one linguist who only mentions the Kufan explanation (cf. e.g. (2) below and 2.4.3) and Fârisî (^cAsk: 81, cf. 7.2.3 n. 243) does not assume a deleted verb.

11. Cf. Mosel on Sîbawaih, Mehiri on Ibn Jinnî and Carter, 1981, on Shîrbînî for examples of this approach.

12. Massignon (1954: 6), Carter (1972b, 1973b), Troupeau (1981), and Sezgin (1984: 9 ff.) emphasize the relative autonomy of the Arabic linguists from Greek influence; Versteegh (1977, 1980a, b) argues for a greater degree of influence. The question is far from resolved: certainly there was some; the question is, how much? Cf. also Wild 1965 37 ff. for possible Indian influence on Arabic phonetic practice.

13. Cf. 1.3.7 below; Zubaydî divides his work geographically: Basra, Kufa, Egypt, Karawân (Tunisia), and Andalusia (Spain). The Kufans and Basrans are divided between grammarians (**naḥwīyyûna**) and linguists (**lughawīyyûna**), those more concerned with literary aspects of Arabic. He lists 76 Kufan and Basran grammarians and 33 linguists.

I use the term 'linguist' to include anyone involved in the systematic study of language.

14. **'Al-Munṣif**, edited in the 1950's, is not particularly easy to obtain, however.

15. Kufa is a city in southern Iraq on the Euphrates, due south of Baghdad, NW of Basra.

16. While Kufa and Basra may originally have been the locus of the two linguistic schools, in fact most of the Kufans and Basrans worked in Baghdad, capitol of the Abbasid empire.

17. Weil's main views were presented in his introduction to Anbârî's **Inṣâf**, edited in the early part of this century. They are summarized and developed by Carter (1973b). Belguedj (1973: 170) also adheres to Weil's views.

18. Following Belguedj (1973: 176, 182), I have to agree with Versteegh (1977: 112 n. 36) against Carter (1973b: 303,304) that there was more to the Kufan/Basran dispute than descriptivist (Kufan)/prescriptivist (Basran) arguments. A question like what governs the topic and comment (cf. 2.3.5.3, In: 44-50) is for the most part a formal linguistic dispute between the two sides.

Beck (1946: 208, cf. also Belguedj 1973: 175, Versteegh 1983: 141 ff.) makes the important point that descriptivist/prescriptivist attitudes towards the study of Arabic had their origins as early as the generation of linguists before Sîbawaih.

19. Also, Lukhda, cf. BW I: 509.

20. Zubaydî (**Ṭabaqât**: 153) gives the year of his death as 299/911. Suyûṭî (BW I: 19) gives both 299/911 and 320/932. If the latter is correct he would belong more to the tenth century than the ninth.

21. One fact which severely restricts our understanding of the Kufan-Basran debate is our lack of edited manuscripts dating from the ninth century. The two short works by linguists spanning the nin/tenth centuries, Lughda and Ibn Kaysân (cf. n. 20) are thus of considerable interest; cf. here also Fischer 1985 on differences between Sîbawaih and his mentor Khalîl.

22. There are a number of potentially diagnostic points, for instance the inflectional status of the imperative verb (226), where his opinion in regards Kufan/Basran ideas is not clear. He also discusses sentences of the form N + V and V + N (225) without distinguishing them as nominal vs. verbal, which is unusual (cf. 2.1.1).

23. However, in Suyûṭî (BW I: 18, 19) he is said by some to have inclined towards Basran views.

24. Cf. also Mubarrad, II: 154, regarding the status of the -**â**/-**ay** dual suffix (cf. 3.3.4), "...others of these two (**ghayruhumâ**) say the -**ay** and -**â** are the inflectional endings". As noted in e.g. (3) this is the Kufan view, though Mubarrad does not identify it as such.

25. I checked volumes 1 and 2 of Farrâ'. I exclude linguistic examples (e.g. 'Akhfash II: 353 **ka-qawlika 'al-baṣriyyu wa l-kûfiyyu**', "for example in the phrase 'the Basran and the Kufan"; also 'Akhfash I: 98).

Farrâ' mentions Basra once (I: 127) when he calls Yûnus (one of Sîbawaih's teachers) "the Basran linguist", and Kufa three times; I: 338 when he speaks of what form the Kufans use for '**anjabnâ** "we gave birth", and II: 155, 371 where he refers to certain Kufan linguists and "shaykhs". In this latter context he is referring to Kufan literati, not specifically grammarians, and he does not identify himself with them. There certainly is little to suggest in these references that there were two well-established linguistic schools, an inference substantiated by the otherwise complete lack of reference to them.

26. He refers once (II: 85) to "grammarians other than the Basrans" (cf. editors introduction, 115), though he does not identify (even by name of individual) who these are, and he does not use the expression anywhere else.

27. These include expressions like **'al-bašriyyūna**, **naḥwu bašrī**, vol I: 101, 102, 107, 110, 200; II: 71, 72, 81, 85. I think it interesting that nearly all the references are early in the volumes and that none come in the last two. It is as if having identified himself as a Basran he does not have to continue using the term and prefers instead more useful ones for scholarly purposes, like identifying exactly which linguist said what.

28. Unlike Sībawaih (Carter 1972b), when Mubarrad speaks of grammarians (**naḥwiyyūna**) he regards them as competent, professional linguists. He says, for instance (I: 178) "This is what the grammarians say, and it is correct and makes analogical sense"^{Q 161}

29. More or less, this figure represents types, so that when he refers to "grammarians" more than once on the same subject I count only one type. The references are found in I: 33, 115, 125, 126 (twice), 127, 140, 155, 157, 158 (twice), 159, 165, 178 (twice), 187, 223, 239; II: 26, 34, 37, 73, 115, 126, 131, 132, 182, 183, 192, 286, 304, 312, 336, 338, 347, 348; III: 97, 115, 116, 117, 118, 123, 127, 128, 133, 164, 196, 296, 312, 326, 365; IV: 4, 119, 125, 136, 156, 209.

30. This particular issue concerns whether or not the imperative verb is inflected (cf. 2.5, n. 32). The editor of the volume, ^CUdhayma, claims that by **qawmun minī l-naḥwiyyīna** Mubarrad means the Kufans. However, as I mentioned Mubarrad himself rarely mentions Kufa, and uses **qawmun** "group, faction" of grammarians elsewhere simply to refer to "certain linguists", where the reference is not obviously to a kufan view (e.g. III: 115).

31. Pp. 19, 69, 86, 114, 118, 127, 154, 191, 235, 247, 262, 264, 290, 304, 310, 362.

32. Cf. Versteegh 1977: 110 n. 27; Tha^Clab pp. 42, 58, 124, 127, 133, 196, 216, 249.

33. This includes one issue, whether **fu^Cūl** and **mif^Cāl** can occur typically as transitive participles, in which Tha^Clab and Mubarrad (IV: 14 ff.) are in agreement (against the Basrans), though neither acknowledges the opinion of the other. According to Tha^Clab the correct opinion derives from Farrā'.

34. In these terms Carter's (1973b) demonstration that Sībawaih, a Basran, and Farrā', a Kufan, had more in common with each other over the issue of **šarf/khilāf** (cf. 2.4.3) than Sībawaih had with later 'Basran' grammarians is not at all surprising. Cf. Baalbaki (1982: 243) for similar point about the concept of **tawahhum**.

35. That they were the two most important linguists of the period is attested in their entries in the **Ṭabaqāt** of Zubaydī, each entry running to 10 pages, among the longest in the book.

36. Between these two linguists one can perhaps see the dominant status of Mubarrad and Basra reflected in their references to the other school. Mubarrad hardly ever mentions Kufa, as if he considers it sufficient to define himself as a Basran; Tha^clab by contrast hardly ever mentions Kufa, presumably his own affiliation, defining his own position relative to his differences with the Basrans.

37. Maybe this is how we should understand the inclusion of a linguist like Ibn Kaysān among the Kufans (Zubaydī **Ṭabaqāt**, though cf. n. 23 above). As I noted (1.2.1.1) his linguistic ideas are mainly Basran, but perhaps many of his academic associates were associated with Kufa.

38. Early in the tenth century the 'schools' were well established entities, each associated with specific linguistic opinions. Sarraġ thus has no hesitation in contrasting Basran and Kufan views (Kufa especially = Kisā'ī and Farrā'; e.g. IS I: 245-247), nor does his contemporary Naḥḥās in his analysis of the **Qur'ān** (e.g. I: 119, 125, 126, 138, 168, 169 etc.).

39. There are post ninth century linguists, notably Astarābādhī among those covered here, who did attempt to incorporate Kufan ideas into their tomes (cf. n. 83), though even as sympathetic a commentator as Astarābādhī by and large follows Basran ideas.

40. In brackets is the abbreviation by which the work will be identified in the rest of this book.

41. The editor, ^cAlī l-Dīn (p. 10) gives a late tenth/early eleventh century date for Ṣaymarī, rather than Brockelman's date of 1146. I am inclined to agree with the editor here. Besides the biographical evidence he adduces, I would note that the style of his book has affinities with late ninth and tenth century work. For example, he is the only author besides Mubarrad whom I have found who discusses the syntactic basis for considering agent and object pronouns to be types of nouns, and his explication is very close to Mubarrad's (cf. chapter 2 Q 33-35).

42. A number of titles are used by more than one author. There are two **Jumal**^c's, two **Inṣāf**'s, and three **Idāh**'s in the present survey. Where one of these is referred to much more than the other I use the abbreviation only for that work; otherwise it will be clear from the context which one I am referring to.

43. To give some idea of the popularity of this mode of exposition, in his introduction to Zajjājī's **Jumal** (pp. 25-30), the editor, ^cAlī l-Ḥamad list no less than 41 grammatical commentaries that have been written on this one book alone. I have seen only two of these (Baṭalyūsī's and Ibn Hishām al-Ḥadamī's).

44. Sîbawaih was by far the most important source, though as Ibn Fâris notes (**Ṣāhibī**: 26), he was not infallible. In later grammatical work one finds frequent reference to other linguists of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.

45. To some extent it can be said that all grammatical work from the tenth century onwards was a commentary on that of earlier periods.

46. The later linguists completely ignored the local dialects they themselves doubtlessly spoke and which were considerably different from the classical language. As early as Zajjâjî (**Td**: 94)^{α 162} it was noted that Arabs do not use case and mode inflections; the reaction of the linguists to this, however, was to emphasize why they should be learned rather than to speculate on the consequences of the change for the grammar.^{α 163} It was a non-grammarians, Ibn Khaldûn, who observed that Arabs had come to substitute word order for case inflection to distinguish agent from object.^{α 164} He correctly observes that the VSO order of classical Arabic, where S and O have distinct case suffixes, has given away to SVO order in the dialects, where the case inflections are lost. Cf. Versteegh, 1984a for interesting, if controversial, discussion of some of the issues.

Ibn Khaldûn makes a number of other incisive observations about the Arabic language, again observations which the traditionally-trained linguists generally ignored. He clearly admits that classical Arabic had become a written language which had to be learned as a foreign language by Arabic speakers of his day (557, 559). He nonetheless defended the Arabic dialects of his day against the charge that they were incapable of expressing ideas adequately, noting that the main difference between them and classical Arabic was only that they lacked inflection (**'i^crâb**, 556). He criticized some linguists of his day (especially those in North Africa and Egypt) for putting too great an emphasis on teaching the formal rules of language, particularly those of inflection (**'i^crâb**) at the expense of teaching classical Arabic as a vehicle for expressing ideas and for understanding literature. For these teachers "...the practice of Arabic had become like the rules of an intellectual logic..." (560, 561). ^{α 165}

His positive attitude towards the modern dialects of his day led him to a reconsideration of some of their historical origins (557, 558). While many dialects had been corrupted by the influence of other languages, there were aspects of some which could be traced back to classical times. In particular, he gave the opinion that the Egyptian pronunciation of Cl Ar /q/, a voiceless /k/ (cf. Ibn Sînâ **Asbâb**: 74, 75; not attested in modern Egypt today, where in Cairene Cl /q/ = /'/) arises not by borrowing but rather by historical descent, where in the classical period there also existed a dialect with /k/. This is certainly a plausible speculation, and is in the spirit of a debate about the relation between the modern dialects and classical Arabic begun in modern times by Vollers (1906).

It is unfortunate he did not have more to say on language (though cf. Ibrahim 1984), for like so much of his thinking it was highly original.

47. Ibn Maḍā (d. 1195) for general criticisms of the 'uṣūl; cf. Blanc 1979: 162, Bohas 1981, Guillaume 1984 for some discussion .

48. It is, however, interesting to observe that despite their preoccupation only with Arabic, the Arabic grammarians managed to arrive at a linguistic theory technically much more similar to today's western grammar, with its avowed universalistic claims, than did medieval and renaissance European grammatical theory which did have explicitly universalistic goals.

Except for the discussion of loan words in Arabic (e.g. Ibn Fāris 42 ff., Iq: 45, 46) there is very little mention of other languages and almost none in the context of comparative grammar. Exceptional here is Baḡalyūsī's (94) remark that one justification for distinguishing present (*hāl*) and future (*mustaqbal*) in the Arabic verb, despite the fact that they have the same form (*yadhhabu* "he goes/will go") is that some languages (he does not mention which) have different forms in the present and future.

As one of the readers points out, the 14th century Andalusian linguist Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalūsī did make comparisons between Arabic and Turkish (and Persian and Abyssinian (Ge'ez?)), though his work is not available to me (cf. Al-Ḥadīthī 1966: 176-187 for summary).

It is relevant to note that a universalistic perspective on language was advocated by the tenth century philosopher Fārābī (Haddād 1969: 201 ff., Langhade 1985: 114), though within a framework of logic and semantics rather than grammar.

49. In Ibn Fāris this reads "The *Qur'ān* was revealed in seven letters (sounds), or one can say, seven dialects" (41).^{α 166 α 167}

50. It is interesting to note that although Ibn Fāris and Ibn Jinnī differed as to the cause of linguistic change -- Ibn Fāris held that change was divinely inspired (*ṣāhibī*: 6-9) while Ibn Jinnī (Khas II: 28, 29) located the change among individual speakers -- both of them still recognized its existence (cf. Mehiri 1973: 107).

51. I use the translations "basic" and "derived" only here, as they fit the phonological context of the examples. I use different translations in chapter 8 where the 'aṣl-far^c distinction is discussed in greater detail.

52. Similarly in Zajjājī (Id: 83 ff.) who reaches the same conclusions concerning the 'aṣl-far^c status of the word classes; cf. Blanc 1979: 164).

53. This fact and the fact that Sarrāj's pupil Zajjājī wrote a short grammatical treatise (*Jumal*), also rather oddly organized (notwithstanding Obler's 1980: 348 observation that there are clusterings of related subjects) almost makes one doubt that Sarrāj really is the one

who organized his grammar. However, Suyûṭî (BW I: 109) reports that "grammar was in a confused state until Sarrâj gave it order in his 'Uṣûl".

54. Ibn Kaysân (110-112) had already used a number of these sub-orders in his short grammar (definition of wordclasses first, nom > acc > gen, modifiers after other functional positions) though in other respects his order is somewhat confused. For example, verbs are discussed in two separate places, 115-117 and 121, 122, separated by a discussion of various nominal categories, and even by one phonological one (the 'alifu l-waṣl, 117).

55. By (2a) nominal sentences are treated before verbal ones.

56. It is more accurate to speak of -u inflectional form and -a inflectional form, since these also occur in verbs (cf. 2.3.1 e.g. (10, 11), and when verbs are discussed the same order is used (-u > -a).

57. One may find departures from Sarrâj's sequence in the relative ordering of a-d. In Ibn Hishâm (QN) for instance the morphological form of nouns is discussed before verbs, but verbs are discussed before the functional positions of nouns (i.e. (b) is obeyed, but since (b) precedes (d), verbs are introduced before the syntactic position of nouns are discussed).

Chapter 2

58. Functions have also been introduced in the generative tradition (Bresnan's (1978) lexical grammar, relational grammar, Perlmutter 1980). However, in these models functions such as Subject and Object are treated as primitives whereas (arguably) in systemic and tagmemic grammar functions are derivative concepts based on the more primitive notions of position in structure and class of item occurring at the position.

59. This point is recognized in Mosel's detailed discussion of Šfawaih's syntactic theory. She divides her discussion into two main parts, syntactic categories (lexemic classes) and functional categories (subject, object, etc.). Since the point is one fundamental to any syntactic theory, I think it requires special emphasis.

60. The essential attribute of the nominal sentence is that it have a nominative noun before the predicate, where the predicate can be either verbal or nominal (cf. Ap 2.1).

Ayoub and Bohas (1983: 33 ff.) discuss exceptional cases where the nominative noun can occur post-verb, and still be in a nominal sentence. Not all Arabic linguists accepted all the examples discussed by Ayoub and Bohas, however (cf. IA I: 227-229).

61. Fârisî (^CAsk: 81, cf. 7.2.3 n. 43) suggests that there is a third type of sentence, parallel to verbal and nominal, a point which Ibn Hishâm (ML: 490 ff.) also develops. Sarrâj (I: 68), Zamakhsharî (24 ff.) are clear in considering this (as well as (3b)) a sub-type of non-verbal sentence.

62. These expressions correspond roughly to what Lyons (1969: 177) calls 'schemata' and what Hudson (1979) terms 'non-canonical expressions'. One of their characteristics is that they have a certain limited degree of morphological and syntactic freedom: **ʿalay-ka/ki/kum** etc. **zaydan/muḥammadan** etc., "you (m/f/m pl. etc.) take Zayd/Mohammad etc.". Hudson (1979: 6, 7) actually does consider an analysis in which non-canonical expressions such as **as with his head** would consist of a 'verb' **off with**, though rejects it on morphological grounds.

63. Carter (1981: 131, 133) argues for the distinction, **mawḍiʿ** = "function", **maḥall** (lit. "untying place for camping") "status", as against Versteegh (1978: 278) who sees the terms as roughly synonymous. While in most cases Carter's (1981) translation does appear to be appropriate, one of his arguments does not bear up to scrutiny. He notes correctly that in the frequent phrase **fāʿil marfūʿ maḥallan** (1981: 133) "agent in the status of nominative case", **maḥallan** should be translated as "status" because **fāʿil** "agent" implies a functional category, and so if **maḥall** = "function" then the phrase is tautological: "the (function of) agent in the function of nominative case".

However, one also finds such phrases as **mawḍiʿuhā rafʿun ʿalā l-ʾibtidāʾ** (Shirbīnī, Carter 1981: 416) "its (i.e. the noun's) function is that of nominative topic". **ʾIbtidāʾ**, "topic", like **fāʿil** "agent" is a functional category, however, so this expression is equally tautological.

Examples such as these, I believe, tend to underscore Versteegh's (1978) point that Arabic grammarians did not have strictly-defined terms for syntactic functions, even though some (like **mawḍiʿ**) may be more prominent than others.

64. Cf. Rājiḥī (1975: 16) for a similar definition of the related term **mawḍiʿ**: "what circumscribes the meaning of a word and its function"^{Q168} (e.g. agent and object). Here, more so than in medieval theory, **mawḍiʿ** is conceived of as a construct independent of the word which fills the position.

65. This is notwithstanding Carter's point (p. c.) that in any given context the term **mawḍiʿ** will have an unambiguous usage. Though this is generally true, I believe that some terms are more closely defined than others, and it is a legitimate goal to distinguish each individual case.

66. Note that **kalām/jumla** here refers most specifically to the obligatory part of the sentence (2.4.2, 6.6.1 and n. 107), an emphasis found occasionally among earlier grammarians (e.g. Sarrāj I: 67). In later theory the obligatory predicative unit became known as the **ʿumda** "prop" (e.g. Ast SK I: 21, HH I: 90).

I can note that among the grammarians up to Astarābādhī (I think) Fārisī is as close as one comes to an explicit definition of **jumla**.

In his short textbook on Arabic, **Al-ʿIdāh**, Fārisī defines the topic/comment and verb/agent combination as **kalām** only, not **jumla** (93).

67. In the period later than that covered in this study the definition of **kalām** reached a high degree of concision, encompassing four aspects: a phonetic form, words joined in a definite relation (**murakkab**), informativeness, and intentionality on the part of the speaker (cf. Shīrīnī, Carter 1981: 9-11).

68. Cf. Zajjājī (Iḍ: 84) for another use of the carpentry metaphor, this time relating to the question of the primacy of nouns, verbs and particles.

69. In proposing the term 'governor' for **ʿāmil** I return to an earlier terminology, that of **regissant** (cf. 8.2). However, in my formulation 'governor' is understood within the terms of an explicit dependency theory, and in this respect contrasts with the earlier translations as 'regissant', where the theoretical implications of the terminology were not fully explored.

Carter (1972: 85, 1973a: 151 n. 45, and following him Angheliescu 1975: 8 n. 3) quite properly draws attention to this lack of critical rigor in translating **ʿāmil** as "governor" (or "regissant") and proposes instead the term "operator" (cf. **ʿamala** "do, work, operate"). The major question, of course, is to define in what sense the triad **ʿamala** (verb), **ʿāmil** (AP form), **maʿmūl** (PP form) constitute theoretical primes within the Arabic theory of grammar, and to the extent that Arabic practice a special terminology is justified. However, my main purpose in this chapter is to show that it in fact shares too many precepts with modern dependency grammar to justify a unique terminology.

70. **Lan** is a particle. There are three word classes in Arabic theory, nouns, verbs and particles (cf. chapter 4). Particles comprise a very heterogeneous set, including prepositions, negatives, and mode and tense markers.

71. Cf. 5.3.2 and Owens 1984c for discussion of the modifiers. Among later grammarians there were five types: descriptive adjectives (**ṣifa/naʿt**), permutative (**badal**), emphasizer (**tawkid** or **taʿkid**), conjuncts (**ʿatf**) and explicative (**ʿatf il-bayān**) (Wright's terminology). The **badal** is a modifier which has the same meaning as the noun it modifies and can be substituted for the noun without changing the meaning.

(i) marartu bi ʾakhika zaydin = (ii) marartu bi zaydin
 passed I by brother your zayd
 "I passed your brother Zayd". = "I passed Zayd".

In (i) **zaydin** is the **badal**, governed by the preposition **bi** just as **ʾakhika**, the word it modifies, is. However, in other contexts (cf. e.g. (21)) the permutative and the noun it modifies can be governed by different governors.

72. I have found one example where multiply-headed dependents are allowed as a possibility. This is discussed by Astarâbâdhî (SK I: 260, 261) and comes in the discussion of the generic negative (lâ l-jins or lâ l-tabri'a "the lâ of quittance" (Carter's translation, 1981: 411) as it was also called). I will simplify the discussion and describe only as much as is necessary for the present illustration, as the syntax of both the generic negative and the example relevant to the present point is rather complex (cf. **Jumal**: 237 ff. for short summary).

The generic negative consists of lâ "not, no" + a single noun which ends in -a + comment (**khabar**).

- (a) lâ rajula fî l-dâri
neg man in def house "There is no one in the house".

In the standard analysis, associated originally with Sîbawaih, lâ + rajula stand in the position of the topic (**mubtada'**) and fî l-dâri is the comment. What distinguishes this from the typical topic-comment construction (Ap 2.1) is that the topic lâ rajula is a complex item, analogous to a compound noun, and lacking the nominative case inflection of the topic (and indeed lacking any case inflection at all according to all but a minority, e.g. Sarrâj; cf. SK I: 255).

The example relevant to the present discussion is the following.

- (b) lâ ḥawla wa lâ quwwata 'illâ bi llâhi
not power and not strength except by God
"There is no power and no might except through God".

Sîbawaih was said to have interpreted this sentence with an ellipted comment, so that (b) could be understood as,

- (c) lâ ḥawla wa lâ quwwata mawjûdun la-nâ 'illâ bi llâhi
exist to us
compound topic understood comment

In the analysis attributed to Sîbawaih lâ ḥawla wa lâ quwwata forms a compound topic which is related as a unit to the comment, mawjûdun (**lanâ**). A second analysis, which Astarâbâdhî does not ascribe to any specific linguist, is the following.

- (c)
- | | | |
|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| <u>lâ ḥawla wa lâ quwwata</u> | <div style="display: inline-block; width: 100px; border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin: 0 10px;"></div> | <u>(mawjûdun lanâ)</u> 'illâ bi llâhi |
| | <div style="display: inline-block; width: 100px; border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin: 0 10px;"></div> | |
| | <div style="display: inline-block; width: 100px; border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin: 0 10px;"></div> | |

There is again a compound topic lâ ḥawla wa lâ quwwata, but in this case lâ takes on a governing property in respect of the understood comment, governing it in the nominative case by analogy with the governance property of 'inna "emphasis" which also governs a nominative comment (Ap 6.1.2.2). The analogy is with the hypothetical example,

- (d)
- | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|-----|-------|---------------------|----------|
| 'inna | zayd-an | wa | 'inna | ^c amr-an | qâ'im-ân |
| indeed | acc | and | | acc | nom/dual |
- "Indeed Zayd and (indeed) Amr are standing".

The problem in (c) and (d) of course is that the assumed comment (**mawjûdun/qâ'imân**) has two governors. This problem was resolved by claiming "...it is possible to have two instances of governance in one noun, as in **'inna zaydan wa 'inna ^camran qâ'imân** as if they (i.e. the governors) were one thing; however, it is not permitted for two different governors to govern a single dependent item" (SK I: 260).^{Q169}

I do not think the present counterexample a very serious one for the following four reasons.

(1) The construction itself (a) is a rather marginal one; the various alternates (four more besides the ones noted above are given by Astarâbâdhî) "probably reflect mere confusion rather than actual difference of use (e.g. dialect) or meaning" (Carter 1981: 415).

(2) The alternate (c) is not associated with Sîbawaih and hence must be assumed to have a lesser status than the one which is (b) (though cf. Carter 1981: 417, 22.44, 22.45 for standard Quranic version).

(3) The construction involves a coordinate structure, and these in general are problematic in dependency grammar (cf. n. 79 below; also Tesnière 1959: 341, 342 ff., Owens 1985a).

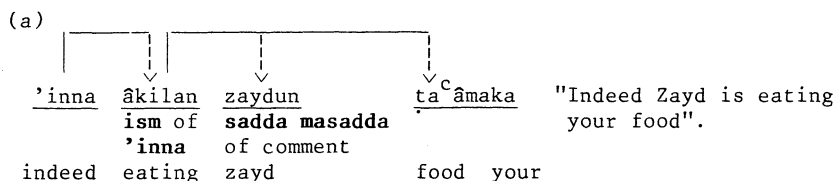
(4) In any case, multiply-headed constructions would be severely restricted in Arabic theory, occurring only when the governors are the same, having the status of a single item (i.e. equivalent to the unmarked type of governor).

73. Sarrâj says that he follows Mubarrad here; cf. Mub IV: 99, 156.^{Q170}

74. Jurjânî and other grammarians also refer to the notion of **'ajnabî** to account for the coherency of a **ṣila**, dependent clause (relative or noun clause) or complement of a nominalized verb (Muqt: 557). A foreign item (**'ajnabî**) cannot occur within the dependent clause, a restriction which follows from the nature of dependency structures. Items in a dependent sentence, D, must be in a dependency relation with each other and hence they do not allow intercession of items from another sentence (matrix or subordinate) since such items by definition do not form dependency relations with the items in D; cf. also 2.9.2.

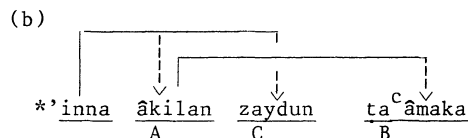
Sarrâj also uses the term **gharîb minhu** "strange, different from it" to describe the intrusive element 'C' (IS II: 233).

75. This constraint on adjacency of governor and dependent was one common to both Kufans and Basrans, as Ṣaymarî's (217) following observation shows. He notes that the Basrans permitted the sentence,



where **zaydun** has a double function: it is the nominative agent of **âkilan**, but also serves to "fill the place" (**sadda masadda**) of the comment. This is a special Basran formulation which allows sentences like (a) despite the fact that they technically have no comment, none governed by **'inna** (cf. Fârisî Id: 246, Jurjânî Muqt: 247-9 for discussion). In the Basran dependency analysis (a) is well-formed, and given their analysis, it would also conform to (13).

The Kufans have a different analysis.



For them **âkilan** is the noun (**ism** cf. Ap 6.1.2) of **'inna** and **zaydun** is its comment, but the structure is ill-formed because "you separated the governor (i.e. **âkilan**) from the governed (**ta^câmakâ**) with **zaydun**"¹⁷¹ i.e. with something that is dependent on neither **âkilan** nor **ta^câmakâ**.

I think that the most plausible explanation for the Kufan objection to (b) is that they are following a formal constraint on sequence and dependency, identical in form to the Basran constraint, namely that discussed by Mubarrad and Sarrâj.

According to Anbârî (In: 186) the Kufans also held to the one governor per item principle (13c).

75. Baṭalyûsî in fact is criticizing Zajjâjî's summary (Jumal: 45) and he says that Sarrâj's is the same as his own. I do not agree with this assessment of Sarrâj's explanation, however.

77. In the context of my present argument the fact that (29) violates both condition (13d) and Sarrâj's/Jurjânî's constraint only serves to underscore their common basis.

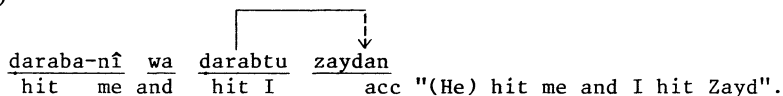
78. I might suggest that a slight reformulation of (13d) would allow for left dislocation: if A depends on B and C intervenes, then C depends on A or B or on some intervening element, or itself serves as head to B. This is to revise it in the direction of Mubarrad's condition on items intervening between head and dependent (cf. (26)).

I would note that the idea of **'ajnabî** is applied only in cases where the dependency relation of A-B goes in the normal head-dependent sequence (cf. 2.3.5.3). In (29) the dependent item

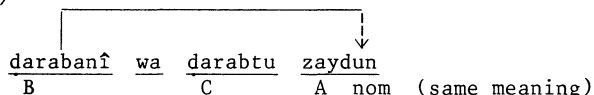
occurs first, which is not its usual position relative to the head. That is, the condition is violated only where normal sequencing is also violated.

79. There are constructions which definitely do disobey the conditions of (13), though these would be problematic in any dependency analysis. One of these is a construction very akin to right node raising in English, except that since the subject (agent) is expressed inherently in each verb in Arabic, a subject as well as non-subject complement can be raised (cf. Mub III: 111-113, IV: 72 ff., Şaymarî 148, ML: 662). In Arabic the construction became known as *tanāzu*^c "contention" among the later grammarians (e.g. IH QN: 197).

(a)



(b)



The meanings of the two are the same; in both Zayd is the agent of *darabanî* and object of *darabtu*. The only difference is that in (a) Zayd is governed as accusative object of *darabtu* while in (b) it has the form of nominative agent of the first verb *darabanî*. (B), however violates (13d) on adjacency of governor and governed.

Without discussing the implications of this example, I can note that (a) was said to be preferred by the Basrans (Ibn Jinnî Khaṣ II 344, 354), who said that the nearest governor (to *zayd*) takes precedence, while (b) is the Kufan choice, where the first verb is said to be stronger than the second (cf. Fârisî 1q: 336, 338).

80. The Kufan analysis underscores the point that condition (13a) is not an important one (2.3.6.1). In the Kufan analysis with topic and comment governing each other there are two independent items acting on each other. However, the Kufan analysis does not violate (13b-d), and it was shown in n. 75 above that the Kufans recognized with the Basrans the formal consequences of adopting a dependency analysis.

81. Ibn Jinnî's actual point is similar to the Kufan-Basran argument under discussion here. It is that *'ayyahum* should follow *taḍrib* since it is dependent, and dependents follow governors (cf. 2.3.5.3), but by the same principle it should precede *taḍrib* since it governs its jussive form. Ibn Jinnî is deliberately throwing up a red herring here to illustrate a point that seemingly contradictory meanings and forms are in fact contradictory in form only.

I might note that Zubaydî (KW: 106) speaks of nouns (like *'ayy*) governing a verb in the jussive. His explanation is perhaps

not detailed enough, however, to make clear whether or not he holds an understood particle to be the true governor.

82. Another view (e.g. Mub IV: 126) was that the comment was governed by the 'ibtidā' and the topic together, and still another that it was governed by the topic.

83. Astarābādhî (SK I: 22, 23) defends the Kufan position, allowing that topic and comment govern each other in examples like (38). He says they precede each other, but in a different sense: topic precedes comment in the sense that it is the item, a topic, to be related to something, but comment precedes topic since it provides the new information and is the focal part of the sentence.

84. Cf. Owens 1984b: 152 and 1985a for similarities between Tesnière's treatment of coordinate nouns and that of the Arabic grammarians.

85. Except perhaps for the explanation for the indicative form of an imperfective verb (cf. 2.4.4); Sfb I: 363, Ibn Jinnî Khaṣ I: 109.

86. Ibn Kaysân (110, 123) is the earliest linguist I have found to make an explicit connection between nominative form and relation to a predicate: "All nominative items are related to one fact, that they relate a predicate to a noun." α¹⁷²

His explanation does not preclude other explanations for nominative form, as when he says that the verb **kāna** puts its noun in the nominative (**yurfi**^C**u**; 114).

87. He is among the first whom I have found making this argument explicit in respect of the accusative form of the objects, though he does not claim it is original with him, and he was not shy to announce his own innovations. It is not found in Mubarrad, Sarrāj, or Zajjājī. Sarrāj recognizes the class of optional objects (**faḍalāt** I: 189), but does not use optionality to explain form. Fārisī, Ibn Jinnī's teacher, does not dwell on the relation between accusative form and optionality (e.g. 'Aq: 212), though in the works I have seen does not make so explicit a connection as does Ibn Jinnī.

88. Anbārī (In: 176-185, # 19) notes the following resemblances. 'Inna, like the past verb is invariable in form (**mabnī**); like a verb which requires two noun complements, 'inna also occurs with two complements; it has the meaning of a verb since it can be paraphrased as **haqqaqa** "assure, verify"; both the verb and 'inna take the first person object suffix **-nī** (cf. 4.9.2 e.g. (42) ff. cf. also Anbārī's **Luma**^C: 139, 140, Iq: 134, 135).

89. More generally the principle of **ṣarf** or **khilāf** is invoked when items of identical structural status differ from each other in some specific way, this difference being reflected in non-agreement of inflectional form. Thus in,

lâ ta'kul il-samaka wa tashrab-a l-labana
 don't eat def fish and drink-sbjc def milk
 "Don't eat the fish while drinking the milk".

the **-a** form (= subjunctive in verb) of **tashraba** is said to result because it is coordinated with a negative imperative verb in jussive form, though **tashraba** is non-negative (cf. Farrā' I: 235).

90. For Fārisī the question of what the true governor is has become one of logical argument and pedagogical convenience. Belguedj (1973) has argued that in the history of Arabic grammar the emphasis on the speaker's role in determining and applying grammatical rules gradually diminished. In the earliest grammatical descriptions, actually rather fragmentary Quranic and poetic exegesis, the emphasis was on the speaker's use of the language, with the grammatical explanation closely tied to the analysis of specific texts rather than to the formulation of general rules. Sībawaih marks a watershed: as with his predecessors, grammatical rules are stated in terms of speakers' usage and operations which speakers perform, but in addition he states rules formally, purely as relations between linguistic items (cf. Carter 1972a, 1985b for examples). There is a greater emphasis on generalizing away from specific examples. By Sarrāj's time grammar becomes almost completely formal with preeminent emphasis on the grammatical rule as a formal construct and a concomitant neglect on the role of the speaker, a position which would lead to a reaction against the purely formalistic grammatical approach (cf. 9.5, 9.6).

91. Here Fārisī reflects Mu^Ctazalite doctrine onto linguistic analysis (cf. Versteegh 1977: chapter 8). For the Mu^Ctazalites all phenomena were susceptible explanation by reason, and through reason humans could uncover the laws of nature as they had been imposed by God.

By logical argument, the fact that a person is speaking is shown to imply that the speaker creates his own speech (Versteegh 1977: 152). To say that **qāma** itself is the governor in (50) would be to imply that the speaker does not have total control over the speech he is making.

92. Except of course in a non-verbal sentence, though given the basic distinction between nominal and verbal sentences the Arabic grammarians could hardly explain the form of the indicative in the same way that they explained the form of the topic and comment (cf. 2.3.5.2).

93. Cf. Versteegh (1983) for insightful summary of Qutrub's (mid-ninth century) phonological explanation for the final vowels, and an interesting explanation for why he rejected the standard view (cf. Zajjājī **Tdāh**: 69-71).

94. This argument seems to me to be weak. It assumes the following chain:

? ---> x ---> verb ---> noun

A verb is governor to a noun; it in turn is governed (assuming Kufan position) by something (x); since the noun is governed, and

since the verb is governed, then so too must the governor of the verb be governed, and so on ad infinitum. However, the argument ignores linguistic reality. Why couldn't the governor of the verb simply be an ungovernable item, like the particle? Indeed, the only governors of verbs are particles, and they are all ungovernable.

95. According to the Basrans the imperative verb is also uninflected (Mub II: 3, IV: 81, 82; As: 319, 320). According to the Kufans it is inflected. Zubaydî (KW: 71, 108) is a late adherent to the Kufan position; cf. In: 523 # 78 for summary.

96. Though the notions of **manzila** and **maqâm** are often used to express these ideas (Versteegh 1978: 268, 275).

97. I should note that there are cases where phonological rules prevent a form's taking the expected inflection. These are dealt with separately. The noun *^Caṣaw-u "stick-nom" (^Caṣaw-a, ^Caṣaw-i) always appears as ^Caṣâ in all case forms because of the general phonological rule **aw-V** ---> **â** (cf. 3.2.3, e.g. (15)). In such cases the sign of inflection is said to be **muqaddar** "assumed" (Fârisî ^CAsk: 61, IH QN: 55); they are inflected, but have no overt phonological mark of inflection (^CAsk: 143).

98. Anbârî's analysis of 'anna as being a noun derived (**muḥawwal**) from a particle (cf. Q 37) is interesting from an historical perspective. The view of 'anna as a noun was developed quite early (Sf̄b I: 410, cf. Mosel 193) and was supplanted by a later view (Mub II: 340, Sarrâj I: 322 ff., IA I: 463) which says that 'anna is governed, but only insofar as it forms a verbal noun with the following verb. Thus **yu^Cjibunî 'anna-ka qâ'imun** "it pleases me that you get up" is equivalent to **yu^Cjibunî qiyâmuka** "your getting up pleases me" (cf. e.g. (4) above). That is, 'anna is not explicitly said to be a noun, but only to have a nominal status in conjunction with the following predicate. However, for Abû Bakr Al-Anbârî, who was associated with the Kufans (**Ṭabaqât**: 153) and a contemporary of Sarrâj, 'anna is a noun derived from the particle 'inna (Ap 6.1.2.2). Its particle origin is evidenced in the fact that it is invariable (**mabnî**), where nouns which contain the meaning of a particle are invariable (cf. 8.6.2; also Zubaydî KW: 132 for similar view in regards to 'an, another complementizer).

99. However, Sf̄bawaih (I: 356) does not consider this example good, and Ibn Hishâm in his compendious summary of particles (ML: 431) does not mention it at all.

100. Cf. Ibn Hishâm (ML: 500-560) for extensive discussion of the contexts where sentences do and do not have the status of individual nouns. The fact that there is such extensive detail for the substitution of S by N, but none for any other types of categories (S by NP for instance) underscores my point (below, 2.9.4) that substitution of larger for smaller units essentially requires a single noun as the smaller unit.

101. A sentence does not take an inflection which stands for the syntactic status it occupies as a single entity. The unit <'abūhu muntaliqun>_S does not have an inflection which marks its status as comment to *zaydun*.

Ibn Hishām (ML: 497 ff.) viewed sentential comments in two ways. A "bigger sentence" (*jumla kubrā*) is a sentence which contains a sentential complement; a "smaller sentence" (*jumla ṣuḡhrā*) is the sentential complement itself. In (61a) 'abūhu muntaliqun is the smaller sentence inside the bigger sentence, the entire *zaydun* 'abūhu muntaliqun.

102. There are, however, specialized particles which do not govern. *Sawfa* "future" only occurs with a verb, 'al- "definite" only with a noun, but neither of them govern.

103. There is dialectical variation in regards to *mā*; cf. 1.7.1 (8).

104. I have not found this discussion in earlier writers.

This analysis can be compared to Harris' (1965/1981: 265) attempt to derive the moods (e.g. interrogative) from basic kernel sentences (e.g. "will you go?" from "I ask you --- whether you will go" (cf. chapter 8 n. 265 and Ross' (1970) performative analysis).

105. In *Sībawaih* the triadic relations typically are represented by three parts of speech: an active participle, passive participle and verbal noun. Perhaps the only general interpretation for all of the different types of triadic relations (summarized in Carter 1973a) is to say that they represent a relation. In terms of modern linguistics this relation can be of various types. Dependency is an important one, but there are others as well, such as the agreement relation discussed in 5.4.2.2 (also Owens 1984c) and probably others still to be defined closely.

It is noteworthy that the schema of (81) connects items on a binary, diadic basis (cf. 5.4.3). Massignon (1954a: 10, 12) suggests that the Arabic linguistic classification proceeds on an essentially binary foundation, as opposed to the syllogistic, triadic practice of Greek thought.

106. Prepositional phrases might be treated in constituency terms too.

107. Arabic grammarians do in a few places hint at the possibility of regarding the verb as representative of the category 'sentence'. *Sībawaih* (I: 409) for example says that in,

(a) *hadhā yawmu yaqūmu zaydun*
this day leaves zayd "This is the day Zayd leaves".

yaqūmu zaydun is the possessor (*muḍāf 'ilā*) complement of *yawmu*. However, *Zajjājī* (Iq: 112, 113) interprets this differently saying that the possessor is verb + agent, i.e. a complete sentence. I think that usually when grammarians talk of a verbal complement it is a shortened way of saying verb + agent = S. Thus *Ṣaymarī* at two

points (100, 293) uses **Jumal** "sentence" (cf. 2.2) to mean a non-verbal or verbal sentence, while **fi^cl** "verb" can equally stand for verbal sentence. For example, he says that in,

(b) hadhâ yawmu zaydun sâ'irun
this day zayd going "This is the day Zayd is going".

(c) hadhâ yawmu taqûmu "This is the day you are leaving".

...the (complements of) the circumstance, composed of verbs (**'af^câl** = c), or non-verbal sentences (**jumal** = b) are in the position of a genitive complement.^{α 173}

'Af^câl must refer to the verbal sentential complement **taqûmu** while **jumal** must refer only to the non-verbal sentential complement (**zaydun sâ'irun**).

108. Fârisî (^cAsk: 104) notes more accurately that one cannot have two non-coordinate agents; one can have two agents only if they are in a coordinate relation.

109. However, cf. Ibn Jinnî's analysis of the -û of **maktûb** "written" as signalling "past participle" only in the context of the prefix **mu-**; cf. 3.7 e.g. (49e, 50).

110. It can be noted, though, that for the study of phonology at least, Firth (prosodic analysis) argued against the method of complementary distribution in defining minimal phonological units. I think it can be argued that Arabic phonology was essentially Firthian in this respect (cf. 3.2.3) and thus one might see the Arabic practice here as the application of Firthian-like procedures to morphological and syntactic structure.

111. It should be pointed out that **jâ'a** "come" does occur in the passive: **jî'a bihi ba^cda tamâmi l-kalâm** (**jî'a** = passive) "it was said (brought) after the completion of the sentence" (from IS I: 258).

Astarâbâdhî (SK I: 84) notes that **Kisâ'î** does allow the specifier to become deputy agent since in a sense the specifier is the agent of the sentence (cf. 9.2.2.2.3), though this is a distinctly minority view.

112. This section is based on Sarrâj (II: 317 ff. and 334 ff.). Similar examples are found in Şaymarî 104. Cf. Carter 1985 for nominalization in dependent clauses in Sîbawaih.

113. The relative pronoun is a type of noun (cf. chapter 4). It, not the noun it modifies, acts as the antecedent to a pronoun in the relative clause in Arabic theory; cf. 5.3.3.

Chapter 3

114. Cf. Bakalla (and Carter 1984) for discussion of Ibn Jinnî's phonetic practice and Mehiri for a good general introduction to Ibn Jinnî's grammatical thinking; cf. also Semaan, 1968, for medieval Arabic phonetic practice.

115. This of course recalls the distinction between possible and impossible words in modern phonological theory (Chomsky and Halle 1968: 416). Ibn Jinnî gives the most detailed treatment of this phenomenon in Arabic, defining what the possible combinations of root consonants are, and the subject is investigated in modern times by Greenberg (1950).

116. Anbârî (As: 3) may have this in mind when he argues for the use of the term **kalâm** "words" to name the three word classes, rather than **kalim** (pl. of **kalima** "word"). **Kalim** may have no meaning, whereas **kalâm** always do. However, he may also be referring to the three-fold distinction made by Ibn Ya'îsh and mentioned briefly below at the end of 3.1.1.

117. Though not Sîbawaih (I: 1) who uses **kalim** for the three word classes, a usage which Ibn Jinnî (Khaṣ I: 25), but not Anbârî (cf. n. 116) finds justifiable.

118. To further complicate matters one finds idiosyncratic usages of these terms. Ibn Jinnî uses **dalâla lafḍhiyya** to refer to the root consonants of a word (Khaṣ III: 101) and their associated meaning. In this context it may refer to a "basic meaning", looking forward to Jurjânî's **ma^cnâ lafḍhî** "literal meaning" of a word or sentence (Dal: 202).

119. Ibn Jinnî also uses the term **ṣinâ^ca lafḍhiyya** to contrast phonological patterns which are arrived at by purely phonotactical means, rather than through meaning (Khaṣ I: 223; cf. 3.5.2.2.2 for exposition of this method).

120. Note also that Ibn Hishâm (ML: 748) calls Sîbawaih the "Imâm of **ṣinâ^ca**" "master of formal analysis".

121. I am indebted to an anonymous reader for reminding me of the importance of this point.

Arabic grammarians were of course aware of the ambiguous usage of the term **ḥarf** (cf. e.g. Khafâjî 25). It is also relevant to note that they considered the spoken word to be prior to the written.

122. Prosodic analysis thus rejected the American structuralist definition of a phoneme (Swadesh 1934/1971) which, for example, allowed the joining together of syllable initial and final consonants into a single category of sound, one phoneme.

123. Ibn Jinnî (Mun I: 4) does this out of expediency, suggesting that syntax is less complex than morphology, and hence a better place to begin. Given the complexity of Arabic morphophonological theory, he may well be correct.

124. Cf. Owens 1984c § 3.1, where it is shown that the Arabic grammarians (e.g. Mub IV: 143) saw the indefinite **-n** commuting with an overt noun possessor; cf. also 1.6 e.g. (7)).

125. This distinction, however, is not always strictly observed in the actual descriptions. For example, the final **-n** of **yaf^calû-na** "they do" is considered a mark of inflection (**'i^crâb**) because it is maintained in the indicative but is deleted in the subjunctive and jussive, as in **lan yaf^calû** "they won't do" (sbjc). However, when summarizing the added sounds (cf. 3.5) Zajjâjî (**Jumal**: 401) includes this **-n** among them. Non-basic sounds belong essentially to **taşrîf**, not **naḥw**. Thus the **-û** of **yaf^cal-û-na** is not included in the summary of the non-basic sounds in any description that I know of since it is a pronoun (cf. 2.10 e.g. (97)).

126. Though as suggested in 3.4 below the 'process' aspect of morphology is also covered by the term **'ishtiqaq** to some extent.

127. Versteegh actually compares Jarmî's approach to the word and paradigm model, though I think it comes closer to a process-orientated statement; cf. Hockett 1954/1971: 396 "A derived form consists of one or more underlying forms to which a process has been applied." The nominative is the underlying form, from which is derived the accusative/genitive. More strikingly, cf. Nida (1948/1971: 263) "...in such related words as **breed:bred**...the replacement of /iy/ by /e/ is meaningful. This establishes the replacement of /e ---> iy/...as a morpheme" and Jarmî's position (summarized by Mubarrad II: 154), "Jarmî held that the change (i.e. from nominative to accusative/genitive) is the sign of declension".

Strictly speaking, it might be noted, Hockett's conception of Item and Arrangement in fact accommodates the plural/case suffixes of (21), given his conception of 'portmanteau morpheme' (1954/ 1971: 389), since the case and plural markers appear elsewhere in other shapes. The one morpheme = one morph approach is thus not indelibly associated with the IA model. Against this, however, Matthews has argued that it does tend towards such an interpretation of morphological structure (1972: 109 ff.).

128. Cf. Carter 1983 for use of proper names as 'testing devices' for morphological structure.

129. Astarâbâdhî does not use any term corresponding to "minimal free form", though does note that the affixes are "not free" (**'adam 'istiqlâl**), calling them "bound, connected" (**ḥurûf muttaşila**). He does not apply the same terminology to the roots, however, which in many cases can equally be bound.

130. These are summarized in the mnemonic phrases **lâ 'ansîtumûhu** "don't forget it" (In: 38), **'al-yawma tansâhu** "today you'll forget it" (**Jumal**: 399) or **sa'altumûnîhâ** "you m pl asked me about it" (Carter 1981: 105), where each letter (**ḥarf**) stands for one of the added sounds. It should be kept in mind that these represent forms, some of which may have more than one meaning and distribution.

131. Ibn Jinnî's terminology does not always help matters. Thus, in Mun I: 15 he speaks of sounds "appended for meaning" (**yulḥaqu li ma^cnâ**, while in Khaṣ (II: 481) he proposes a fundamental distinction

between appended sounds ('ilḥāq), none of which have a meaning, only a form (lafḏh, i.e. meaningless added sounds), as opposed to sounds added for meaning, none of which are mulḥaq "appended". In one place the class of appended sounds (mulḥaq) are said to have a meaning and in another they are not.

132. And thus resemble say the /d/ of **zayd** in Ibn Ya^cīsh's example (29), which has no meaning, but is considered a part of the root, not an added sound.

133. Ibn Ya^cīsh (SM: 119-121) gives three methods; two of these, **kathra** and **m thāl** are essentially phonotactical and the third is 'ishtiḡāq, the comparison of related forms. Ibn Uṣṡūr (39-59) gives nine different criteria for distinguishing basic from non-basic sounds, though effectively these reduce to three, meaning (56, 57), 'ishtiḡāq (40-53), and phonotactic (54-59). This last includes **kathra**, **luzūmu ḥarfi l-ziyādati** l-binā', 'al-naḏḥr, **khurūj** ^can il-naḏḥr, 'al-ḏukḥūlu ff 'awsa^ci l-bābayni ^cinda **luzūmi l-khurūji** ^can il-naḏḥr.

134. Their suspicions are based on the well-founded observation that the /w/ and /y/ are the sounds most likely to change in the course of morphophonological rules (cf. Bohas 1981: 206 ff.). In fact, to a large extent the study of Arabic morphophonology is based on the study of the changes of these sounds. The Arabic grammarians make the interesting claim that in a verb and noun the 'alif, the long /ā/ (â) is always non-basic, added either as a non-basic meaningful sound or derived by morphophonological rule (cf. e.g. (14); Mun I: 118).

135. Note the implicit appeal to economy here. Underlying this type of analysis is the assumption that "the basic patterns are few, while those with added sounds are many" (Ibn Uṣṡūr I: 58).^{α 174}

136. The class meanings of the patterns were noted by grammarians from Sībawaih's time; cf. Mosel 139.

137. **Ḍarababa** would not be correct since verbs do not allow sequences of four open syllables in their roots.

138. Ibn Jinnī (quoted in SM: 502) calls the application of such rules a form of intellectual practice.

139. A broken plural is a plural formed by changing the internal structure of the noun, as in e.g. (45) above.

140. The main reason the Arabic grammarians give for this is that (1) words with three consonantal roots are the unmarked ones, longer ones being marked (Khaṣ I: 61); (2) a word with an added sound is by definition longer than three consonants, since all nouns and verbs must have at least three basic consonants; (3) if a broken plural or diminutive, both of which involve infixing a sound, is formed the word will become longer yet and so (4) the added sound is deleted to prevent too long a word from being formed (Mub II: 250).

Chapter 4

141. Versteegh (1977: 38 ff.) convincingly draws attention to the implications of this tri-partite classification for the history of Arabic theory, showing that it is likely that the Arabs took this Aristotelian classification from Greek or Syriac practice.

Cf. n. 156 for discussion of the possibility that a fourth class, consisting of adverbs, was recognized by some of the earliest grammarians. The data is not altogether clear, however.

142. Cf. Owens, to appear, for a detailed discussion of the syntactic criteria used.

143. More accurately, verbs (for the Basrans, cf. 2.5 and n. 94, 95 in chapter 2) and particles are uninflected (**mabnī**) in the unmarked case (cf. 8.6) and the basic state of uninflected items is -C final form (IS I: 53).

144. For example, Ibn Fâris 90, Zajjâjî (Id: 49), where they cite Akhfash's criterion that nouns occur with the verb **yanfa^cunî** "x helps me", i.e. as agent, and with **yaḍurru x** "it hurts x", i.e. as object.

Versteegh (1977: 59 ff.) has argued that Zajjâjî's use of the criterion of occurrence as agent or object (Id: 48) refers to physical rather than grammatical properties of nouns. I have given a number of arguments against this interpretation (to appear § 2.4) and would here add the further observation that Zajjâjî's criterion is mentioned in two of his immediate predecessors. This criterion is not so rare as has been assumed (Carter 1981: 31). Lughda (222) says that nouns occur as agent or object and Ibn Kaysân (106) says they occur as agent, object or possessor (**mudâf 'ilayhi**). The mention of possessor here unequivocally underlines the formal aspect of the criterion, since there (probably) is no physical analogue to this status. I think it would have been highly unlikely for Zajjâjî to have departed radically from this formalistic tradition.

I might add that to the extent that the functional positions (e.g. agent, object) exhibit a correspondence between formal and semantic properties (cf. 9.2.1, especially n. 282) the nouns that fill these positions can be said to be defined semantically. This semantic characterization, however, is assumed by nouns only in the context of the grammatico-semantic context of the functional positions and is thus a property of nouns only within the overall grammatical framework.

145. Diem (1970) points out that for Sîbawaih adjectives (**ṣifa/na^ct**, cf. Carter 1981: 239) and noun (**ism**) implicitly have the status of two different word classes. Sîrâfî (the elder, 589) takes explicit note of this point and explains that Sîbawaih intends by adjectives, "adjectives which are also noun", as opposed to words like **zayd** or **faras** "mare" which are only nouns (**ism**).^{α175} These two sub-classifications are noted by Sîrâfî to have various implications for sg/pl morphological form.

146. "Particles" **'adawât** was said to be a Kufan term (though cf. Carter 1981: 393). The Basrans called them **ḥurūfun li ma^cnâ** "meaningful letters/sounds" (i.e. as opposed to, say, the letters of the alphabet which singly have no meaning).

147. My sources for these observations are the same as for 4.1-4.4.

148. Note that this is a syntactic definition. The importance of syntax in establishing the coherence of classes was noted above (cf. n. 5, Owens to appear).

149. Anbârî (As: 14) claims that rather marginally one can have,

^calâ kayfa tabî^cu l-'ahmarayni
on how you sell def red dual

"How do you sell the two red ones"? (i.e. meat and wine)

150. This is notwithstanding the fact that as early as Sarrâj (I: 228) **fî** is noted to occur when the circumstantial noun is referred to pronominally.

qumtu l-yawma qumtu fî-hi
in it

"I got up today". "I got up in it". (also **Luma^c**: 138, IY II: 41
IH QN: 229)

Anbârî in fact makes the meaning of **fî** a criterial definition of the circumstantial noun.^{α176} The importance of **fî** "at" as a key to understanding this construction may have been partly responsible for the change in the definition of what a circumstantial noun is (cf. 4.7.5).

151. I think for Sîbawaih as well (Mosel 348). He says (I: 173)

Know that not each position and place can be a circumstance. Excluded here are sentences like **huwa jawfa l-dâri** 'he is inside the house' ... rather one must say **huwa fî jawfihâ** 'he is (at) inside it' ... ^{α177}

152. According to Mubarrad (IV: 227-229) one should not mistake sentences such as,

- (a) sakantu l-ghurfat-a "I lived in the room".
lived I room acc
- (b) dakhaltu l-dâr-a "I entered the house".
entered I acc

as containing a circumstantial complement, even though there are synonymous doublets with **fî**.

- (c) dakhaltu fî l-dâr-i "I entered the house".
gen

Rather, **sakana** "dwell" and **dakhala** "enter" are transitive verbs which take a direct object, parallel to,

- (d) ^camartu l-dâr-a "I built the house".
acc

Against this opinion, Astarâbâdhî (SK I: 186) points out that only certain objects occur with verbs like **sakana** and **dakhala**. One does not have for example,

- (e) *dakhaltu l-balad-a (cf. dakhaltu fî l-balad-i "I entered
city acc in gen the city".

He proposes that **ghurfata** and **dâra** in (a, b) are special circumstantial complements.

Somewhat earlier than Astarâbâdhî, Sarrâj (I: 204) in an argument he attributed to Sîbawaih pointed out that in general the antonym of intransitive verb will also be intransitive, and that since the antonym of **dakhala** "enter", = **kharaja** "leave", is unequivocally intransitive, so too must **dakhala** be.

153. No grammarians exploit the possibility of using one of the terms for the word class and the other for the functional category.

154. This point is stated explicitly in the relatively late work of Zamakhsharî 'Al-'**Ahâjî** l-**Nahwîyya**.

What is a locative (**ḡharf**) and a non-locative? I said,
'The locative is a noun of time or place, governed in
the accusative with the meaning **fî** "at", and non-lo-
catives are those (nouns) which have the distribution
of 'horse' and 'cloth'; for example...**hadhâ yawmun**
mubâarakun 'this is a blessed day'.^{Q178}

155. Also Sîbawaih (I: 175), though he is less insistent than Mubarrad on this point.

156. As I have noted elsewhere (to appear), Mubarrad, perhaps more than any other author, goes to considerable effort to establish the nominal properties of words like **khalf** "behind", using distributional proofs. I have suggested that he is refuting a Kufan idea which sees words like **khalf** as categorically distinct from noun. Besides Sarrâj's citation of Kisâ'î and Farrâ' (4.7.1), Mubarrad's near contemporary Lughda (225, 226) also appears to distinguish them from nouns (cf. 1.2.1.1) a point which lends plausibility to the assertion that Mubarrad's remarks were directed against 'Kufan' ideas.

157. Note that **ism** "noun" also comes to stand for the class of "things" alone; that is, **ism** designates either the entire class of nouns, including circumstantials, or the unmarked sub-class = '**ashyâ**'.

158. Sîbawaih (I: 173) also discusses this example, though it is not clear whether he sees in this contrast, **waṣṭa** - **fî waṣati**, a semantic contrast, or whether the two words merely exhibit a distributional difference, where the two different forms follow automatically from this difference.

159. He does, however, contradict himself here, since he notes (IV:340) that **ḡind** occurs as object of **min**, **min ḡind-î** "from my place", and for Mubarrad (I: 4) occurrence as object of preposition is the criterion par excellence of 'nounship'; cf. also Ṣaymarî 306.

160. Fârisî (Id: 641) notes that ^Cind is the "strongest of the words indicating a general area." ('innahâ 'ashaddu 'ibhâman min 'khalfi' wa bâbihâ).

161. To complicate matters further, Zajjâjî (Id: 140) calls ^Cind "mutasarriif" (cf. 3.3.2). By this I think he means "able to occur in a number of sequential positions", rather than a specification of morphological properties. I think his terminology is idiosyncratic for the period covered here, though apparently was taken up by later grammarians (cf. n. 163).

162. The only grammarian I have found who says that ^Cind and such circumstantials "contain" (taḍammāna) the meaning of the particle fî "at" is Baṭalyûsî (167). Others, like Ibn Jinnî (Luma^C: 138), Fârisî (Id: 646, 647) and Jurjânî (Muqt: 647) simply say that the meaning of fî is intended (yurâd) or assumed (muqaddar).

163. Ibn Ya^Cîsh (II: 40-44) follows Zamakhsharî in calling all the circumstantial nouns accusative; he also uses the term ghayr mutamakkin for those restricted exclusively to this position, though does not explain this usage closely.

In later theory these circumstantial nouns were termed ghayr mutaṣarrîf (cf. 3.3.2) where again what is basically morphological terminology is applied to syntactic restrictedness (cf. Shirbînî 364, Carter 1981: 365, 367).

164. Jurjânî apparently is caught between the dictates of providing an accurate commentary on Fârisî and of taking into account later ideas in the definition of circumstance. Fârisî (Id: 641) follows Mubarrad in requiring that a circumstantial noun be a direct accusative dependent of the verb, and in this respect Jurjânî follows Fârisî, though explains that if a noun is governed by a preposition "they do not call it a circumstance".^{Q179} He perhaps leaves open the possibility that even if it is not called a circumstance, it still might be circumstantial in a more basic sense. In this way he may avoid contradicting an earlier (Muqt: 447) account which he gives which, like Ṣaymarî and Zamakhsharî, would allow a noun to be considered a circumstance even if marked by a preposition.^{Q180} The example he gives, fî l-dâr "in the house", would not be a circumstance for Mubarrad or Fârisî.

165. Cf. Troupeau, 1962a, for some discussion. The Kufan analysis of the tense/aspect system I think has a number of merits to it. It is interesting that even in modern dialects the status of the active participle within the verbal system is a matter of dispute (e.g. Mitchell 1952, 1978).

166. When the verb precedes the subject it does not agree with the subject in number (though there was dialectical variation on this point). In (24b) the active participle has the status of a verb, and hence does not show number agreement (as (24c) does not). In (24a) it has the status of a noun, and hence take the same number as 'ukh-watuhum.

167. 'al-dārib-ūna ---> 'al-dārib-ū if possessed, by general morpho-phonological rule; cf. Ap 1.5.1.2.

168. This will be discussed in the example ^Cishrūna dirhaman "20 dirhams"; cf. 5.2 and Ap 3.2.2.1.

169. A very similar formulation is found in Lughda, 243.

170. It should also be noted that the construction **huwa l-dāribu zaydan amsi** "He hit Zayd yesterday", with accusative direct object complement, allows a completive meaning. The definiteness of the definite article apparently can give the construction a perfective meaning (IS I: 275, Zam 228).

171. Mubarrad and Sarrāj are associated with the Basran school and accepted the Basran view here.

172. With a handful of exceptions, all of the 111 arguments were resolved in favor of the Basrans by Anbārī.

173. It must be by analogy, it cannot be the same construction because in (48) 'al-ḥasanu (and nouns of its class) must be an adjective derived from a verb and **shu^Cr** does not fulfill this requirement since it is underived (**jāmid**).

174. Note the implicit appeal to paradigmatic class in this argument.

175. The third involves a discussion of the theory of the verbal noun, which requires more detailed explanation than appropriate here.

176. The base form of this noun is 'af^Cal = 'a^Craj "lame", which is the same form as the comparative noun. For nouns of this sort (especially associated with colors and defects) a periphrastic comparative is used 'aqbaḥu 'a^Craj "worse lame, lamer".

177. It is interesting to observe that in the modern Ḥassānīya dialect (Mauritania) there is a class of morphological verb forms based on the diminutive (Cohen 1963: 141).

178. In this case the Kufans are certainly the ones following the more analogically correct (**qiyāsan**) argument. Such 'neo'-Basrans as Fārisī (^CAsk: 107) and Ibn Jinnī (Mun I: 178) note that 'astahwadha is "widespread in use but analogically exceptional" (^CAsk: 101).^{Q181}

179. Ibn Jinnī (Mun I: 259; also Ibn Ya^Cīsh SM: 222, 223) explains this form by saying that the meaning is of the verb 'ahwalla "become cross-eyed" where no phonological change occurs. The failure of the phonological rules to apply is sensitive to its derivational relation with this related verb form (cf. 3.2.3 for morphophonological status of phonological rules).

180. However, Anbārī invokes this principle in two of the four Basran replies to the Kufan points (4.8.3, points 2, 3; cf. Q 82), which is to say he implicitly recognizes the force of the Kufan argument in both cases. One can wonder how many traits of another class an item must have before it can be said to be of that class.

181. I think a careful reappraisal of the issues in the **Inṣāf** will show that there are few cases where either the Basrans or the Kufans are unequivocally correct.

Chapter 5

182. I will use the following convention: NP is a structural unit defined within a particular linguistic theory based on immediate constituency analysis (cf. below). 'Noun phrase' is an informal term, a noun and its complements.

183. Sarrāj (I: 189, 257) however, regards it as a pseudo-object. Like other objects it is a peripheral item (**faḍla**, cf. point 1) and it is implied in the verb since every action described by a verb must take place in some condition; cf. 6.2.

184. The condition has the status of a complement to a predicate as the Arabic explanation suggests (a second comment), and such complements in various forms of generative grammar are generally constituents of S or VP, not of NP.

185. Despite his generalization, I do not think Mubarrad (III: 36), or Ibn Kaysān (110) or Sarrāj (I: 268, 271) subscribed to this view in the case of (9a), where for them ^c**ishrūna** is simply one item governing another one in the accusative. Zajjājī (Tq: 135) discusses the relation of examples like (9a) to a verb (cf. 2.4.2 and n. 88 chapter 2).

186. Also one finds the governors of the genitive divided into three classes, a preposition (**ḥarf jarr**), a circumstantial noun (**ḡharf**) or a noun (**ism**, the '**idāfa**'; e.g. Zajjājī **Jumal**: 60, 144, Zubaydī **KW**:48 very similar to Zajjājī's, and Ṣaymarī 282). I believe this goes back essentially to Ṣībawaih (I: 177), though his viewpoint is open to more than one interpretation.

However, the circumstantial adverb (**ḡharf**) is essentially a subclass of noun (cf. 4.7 for discussion) and so many authors recognize only the two types listed in this text, genitive through noun ('**idāfa**) and genitive through particle (Mub IV: 136, IS I: 497, Fārisī Tq: 822, **Luma**: 155, Zam 82, IH QN: 249. This view is the standard one.

187. Sarrāj (II: 3 ff.) and Fārisī (Tq: 883) distinguish these classes as '**idāfa maḥḍa** "pure possession" vs. '**idāfa ḡhayr maḥḍa** "impure".

188. Cf. Owens 1984c for historical survey of the delimitation of the modifiers as a class. In that article I suggested that Sarrāj (II: 17) was the first to identify the **tawābi**^c as a class, though this may be incorrect as Ibn Kaysān (cf. n. 20 in chapter 1) also identified the **badal**, ^c**aṭf il-nasq**, **ta'kīd** and **na**^c**t** as a class of items which follow the inflection of the preceding noun (cf. n. 201 below).

I mostly use Wright's terminology for the modifiers. Carter (1981: 275) gives ^c**aṭf bayān** as "explanatory coordination", **tawkīd** as "corroboration" and ^c**aṭf** (or ^c**aṭf il-nasq**) as "sequential coordination". **Tawābi**^c are "subsidiaries" or "concordants" (1981: 239, 305).

189. Except for definiteness, these are also the categories of agreement between topic and comment, where topic has a single noun or adjective filler. However, very few linguists explicitly draw attention to these categorical similarities between topic-comment on the one hand and modified-modifier on the other (Şaymarî, 100, being a partial exception here).

190. More detailed discussion of the differences between the permutative (**badal**), descriptive adjective (**na^ct**) and explicative (**ca^tf bayân**) is found in Şaymarî (183 ff.), Baṭalyûsî (104-110) and Ibn Hishâm (ML: 593-7, 742).

191. This relative pronoun varies for gender and number, e.g. 'allatî "who f", 'alladhâni "who m dual", 'alladhîna "who m pl", etc.

192. A nominalized verb is held to be structurally equivalent to a construction with 'anna/'an + şila since both occur as object complements and as agents for some verbs; cf. Ayoub and Bohas: 271, Owens, to appear.

193. Also, relative clauses can occur with a prepositional phrase or circumstantial non-sentential şila (**shibh jumla** IH QN: 107 as in 'alladhî fî l-bayt "who is in the house").

194. One grammarian, one of the earlier ones, who does draw explicit attention to the identity between the sentential complements of definite and indefinite nouns is Ibn Kaysân (119). He notes in,

jâ'anî rajulun <yadribu zaydan fî l-dâr>
came me man hitting zayd in house
"A man came to me hitting Zayd in the house".

that the sentential complement (boldface), which serves as modifier (**na^ct**), is like the şila, dependent S complement in a relative clause.^{α 182} Unfortunately it appears that later grammarians mostly ignored this interesting analogy and treated the two as belonging to different classes (x + şila vs. noun modifier **na^ct**). Jurjânî (Muqt: 911, 912) and Fârisî (Tq: 911) do note however that both types of dependent clauses must be indicative (non-interrogative, non-imperative).

195. This is not to say that the meaning of **rajulin dharîfin** is the same as a single noun, **rajulin** (Jurjânî Dal: 411). Rather, the unit **rajulin dharîfin** creates a new semantic and structural unit that has the status of a single noun.

196. I should point out that there is one case where the 'two items are the same as one' argument is applied to an exocentric construction, that of verb + agent (Tq: 75, Khaş II: 254, Şaymarî 230, Baṭ: 95, In: 78-81 # 11 for a number of pieces of evidence for their unitary status). The verb + agent (e.g. **fa^cal-tu** "did-I") are considered "one thing" not because they can be substituted for a single item, which of course they cannot be, but because a verb always requires an agent (Khaş III: 99) and because the agent is expressed in the verb as a bound suffix. That is, they form a semantic and phonological unity.

197. Hudson (1976, 1984) however, has suggested a mixed dependency/constituency approach for various issues.

198. There are further specific conditions preventing (41 b, c), some relating to dependency, which I will not discuss here.

199. Astarâbâdhî (SK I: 300, 301) discusses three opinions about what the governor of the conjoined item is. The best one, he says, is that it is the same as the governor of the first conjunct (attributing this to Sîbawaih); one he rejects completely says that the conjunction itself is the governor. A third, associated with Ibn Jinnî (Khaṣ II: 387 for elliptic reference) and Fârisî says that the governor of a conjoined item is an understood governor (**muqaddar**), the same as the item it is conjoined to. In this view,

(a) ra'aytu zaydan wa ^Camran "I saw Zayd and Amr".

would be understood as,

(b) ra'aytu zaydan wa ra'aytu ^Camran "I saw Zayd and I saw Amr".

Astarâbâdhî rejects this, giving a number of examples which it would fail to handle, for instance,

(c) kullu shâtin wa sakhlatihâ bi dirhamin
every sheep and lamb its for dirham

"Every sheep and lamb (i.e. the two together) are for one dirham".

In Ibn Jinnî's view this presumably 'derives' from,

(d) kullu shâtin bi dirhamin wa kullu sakhlatihâ bi dirhamin

where the price is considerably higher.

Similarly, from

(e) mâ zaydun qâ'imun wa lâ ^Camrun qâ'idun
not zayd standing and not amr sitting
"Zayd is not standing nor is Amr sitting".

one cannot assume,

(f) *mâ zaydun qâ'imun wa mâ lâ ^Camrun qâ'idun

since the second (hypothetical) conjunct would contain the syntactically impossible collocation of ***mâ** + **lâ**.

It is noteworthy that problems such as these have been used to argue for both transformational and non-transformational approaches to coordination (Stockwell et alia 298 ff.).

200. Suyûṭî is correct about Mubarrad's position on this point (Mub IV: 315).

201. Baṭalyûsî also attributes it to Akhfash (Baṭ In: 63) though he does not elaborate on this. Ibn Kaysân would appear to have the same interpretation. ^{Q 183}

202 Carter (1972b: 85) gives the modified-adjective relation as one between "operated on" (= my "governed") and "operator" (= my go-

vernor"). However, at no point does Sībawaih apply the terms $ma^C m\tilde{u}l-^C \tilde{a}mil$ "operated on-operator" to this pair.

203. This does not imply that the head noun governs the modifier -- no Arabic linguist so far as I know suggests this. This could not be the case because governance relations require a characteristic inflectional form on the governed (2.3). A verb governs in the accusative, a genitive particle in the genitive, and so on. As Rājiḥī (381) points out, the modified-modifier relation is not characterized by a unique inflectional form on the governed noun, since the two forms vary together according to the context they occur in.

204. Zamakhsharī in fact mentions both of these explanations in different places. On p. 18 he says that the modifier is governed by what governs the modified, while later (110) says that it follows the modified in its inflection.

205. Yet another alternative, attributed to Abū Ḥayyān (al-Andalūsī, d. 745/1344) is discussed by Suyūṭī (Iq: 170). He says that Abū Ḥayyān refutes the following explanation for the form of the adjective. Some (unspecified) people were said to argue that the governor of the adjective is an understood ($\mu qaddar$) verb. In this view,

- (a) $j\tilde{a}'an\tilde{i} \ zaydun \ il-^C \tilde{a}qilu$ "The intelligent Zayd came to me".
came me zayd def intelligent

would 'derive' from,

- (b i) $j\tilde{a}'an\tilde{i} \ zaydun$ + (b ii) $j\tilde{a}'an\tilde{i} \ l-^C \tilde{a}qilu$
"Zayd came to me". + "The intelligent one came to me".

Abū Ḥayyān refuted this analysis by noting that each adjective ($\tilde{s}ifa$) requires a noun to modify (the $maw\tilde{s}uf$), so that (b ii) must logically derive from,

- (c) $j\tilde{a}'an\tilde{i} \ zaydun \ il-^C \tilde{a}qilu$ (= a)

which in turn derives from (bi/ii). The analysis is refuted by an argument of infinite regress.

What I think interesting is that a specifically transformational-type derivation is rejected in favor of a phrase-structure type analysis.

206. One can compare here Hudson's (1984: 78) claim that dependents situate themselves relative to the head, not vice versa.

207. There is some argument as to whether $al-rajulu$ is a descriptive adjective ($na^C t$) here, or explicative ($^C a\tilde{t}f \ bay\tilde{a}n$), though the point is not crucial to the present example (cf. Baṭ 104, IH ML: 742).

208. A further aspect of sequence in examples like (45) is definiteness (Fārisī Id, Jurjānī Muqt: 917-926, IY III: 56). Nominals are ranked on a scale of inherent definiteness, the more definite nominal always preceding a less definite one. Sībawaih held that the proper noun was more definite than the demonstrative, hence the sequence of (45c)

follows automatically from this ranking. However, the scale of definiteness itself was disputed. Some linguists suggested that the demonstrative was the more definite, for example. The explanatory force of this distinction is thus of questionable value.

209. These principles are closer to dependency than constituency grammar in particular in that in both dependency grammar and in Arabic theory relationships are phrased in terms of pairwise relations between individual words.

In Owens 1984c I make an explicit comparison between the constituency treatment of the noun phrase, the dependency one (pace Tesnière) and Hudson's (1984) version of dependency grammar. It is shown that Hudson's grammar develops an analysis of the noun phrase items rather similar to that in the Arabic model.

Chapter 6

210. Zajjājī (**Jumal**) does not mention the accompaniment and reason objects, though nearly all subsequent grammarians do (e.g. Fārisī Iq: 599, 631, 667, 673) and they are described in Sībawaih (I: 125, 154), though not under these terms. Zajjājī does not distinguish between object and pseudo-objects, though again later grammarians (e.g. from Fārisī Iq: 587) do. Ibn Kaysān (110) distinguishes the time (**waqt**) and place (**ḍharf**) complements as separate classes, though he is the only one to do so of those included in this survey. Ṣaymarī (254) considers the condition (**ḥāl**) to be a sub-type of circumstantial object (**maḥāl fthi**), along with locatives (time/place = **ḍharf**). Although most grammarians note the similarities between the **ḥāl** and **ḍharf**, no others covered them in the same class.

211. I have found no explanations as to why the pseudo-objects are distinguished from the five true objects, though such a distinction is consistently made from Sarrāj's time (Sarrāj I: 189, Fārisī Iq: 579, Astarābādī SK I: 112, 113). I might hazard the following guess. In at least some circumstances each of the three pseudo-objects either describe the agent, or can themselves be interpreted semantically as agent.

- (a) jā'anī zaydun rākib-an "Zayd came to me riding".
riding acc condition describes agent
- (b) mā jā'a l-nāsu 'illā zaydan "None of the people came except
not came def people except Zayd". exception = agent
- (c) tasabbaba l-farasu araq-an specifier = agent, cf. 9.2.2.2.3
dripped def mare sweat "The mare dripped sweat".

In form (**naṣb** accusative) the pseudo-objects are like the objects but in meaning they can be agents.

212. This term is found as early as Anbārī (As: 86). Ibn Hishām uses the term **qāṣara** (ML: 598). Earlier than Anbārī one usually finds the expression "verbs which are not transitive".

213. Levin (1979) convincingly shows that for Sîbawaih $ta^C addâ$ cannot be equated with "pass over" in the sense of a physical action. However, it does not follow from this that $ta^C addâ$ must be equated with $^C amala$ "govern in the accusative". Levin's observation can equally be accommodated by $ta^C addâ$ in Sîbawaih to mean "take a transitive complement" (cf. n. 215 for distinction between definition of the valency structure of a verb and governance), where $ta^C addâ$ refers to a sub-class of valency relations in the verb (those defined by the accusative case). What the consequences are of making this distinction in Sîbawaih is a question beyond the scope of this study, though I believe it deserves closer attention.

214. The longest example I have found is in Şaymarî (123):

$'a^C lamtu$	$zaydan$	$^C amr-an$	$muntaliq-an$	$'i^C lâm-an$	$yawm-a$
informed I	zayd acc	amr acc	leaving acc	informing-acc	
	1 obj	2 obj	3 obj	absolute obj	
$l-jum^C cati$	$^C ind-a-$	ka	$dâhik-an$	$hiḍâr-a$	$sharrihi$
Friday	at acc	your	laughing	fear acc	evil his
time obj	place obj	condition	reason object		

"Friday at your place laughing, I really informed Zayd that Amr was leaving out of fear of his evil".

Only the accompaniment object is left out. Medieval Arabic grammarians, like their modern counterparts, could push the language well outside the bounds of normal usage in order to illustrate their rules.

215. Bobzin (1983: 96) is correct to point out that $ta^C addâ$ is used in two senses (if not three, cf. n. 216) in Arabic theory: it means both a relation between a verb and any of five types of accusative complements, and also valency in the sense of Tesnière (1959), the delimitation of the number of actant (noun dependents) which a verb can have, where verbs differ in the number they can take. However, although I think he is correct to point out the relevance of dependency and valency to an understanding of Arabic theory, I think it questionable whether one should consider $ta^C diya$ (verbal noun from $ta^C addâ$) a sub-class of dependency ($^C amal$) in Arabic theory in the way valency is a sub-class of dependency relation in some versions of modern dependency grammar.

A dependency relation (abhängigkeitsverhältnis) is any relation of one word to another; valency pertains to a sub-categorized sub-class of these relations, where, for instance, a transitive verb can form a relation with one object, whereas a bi-transitive forms relations with two (Bobzin 1983: 94).

The problem in formulating the proportion, dependency : valency :: $^C amal$: $ta^C diya$ is first that $ta^C diya$ in Arabic theory excludes the verb-subject (agent, first actant) relation, which is a part of valency in modern dependency theory, and secondly, as I suggested above, because $ta^C diya$ has a semantic basis for most grammarians.

I believe Tesnière, the father of modern dependency grammar, follows essentially the Arabic method in separating dependency from

valency. For Tesnière, dependency relations are what define all grammatical relations; valency pertains specifically to the number of actants a verb takes. A valency relation implies a dependency one, though one can characterize a verb's valency (= x number of complements) without referring specifically to the notion of dependency. Similarly in Arabic theory: a verb which is transitive (*muta^caddf*) implies that it governs an accusative noun, but one can speak of a transitive verb without specifically mentioning the dependency relation.

216. For Tesnière "causative" means a process whereby the number of actants in a clause is increased. This is termed *ta^cdiya* "transitivization" by the Arabic grammarians.

217. The first to use the term *muta^caddf bi nafsihi* "inherently transitive" was perhaps Anbârî (As: 86, 87) though he was not the first to identify the verbs as a class (cf. e.g. Sarrâj I: 61).

218. Mubarrad mentions transitivity by means of a particle (IV:33) and by means of verb modification (II: 104-105), but he does not treat the two as a unitary process. Sarrâj is the first to do this among the writers I cover here.

219. As support for the direct object status of *amran* Sarrâj notes that some verbs take an object complement with or without a preposition (IS I: 212).

sammaytuhu bi zayd-in "I named him Zayd".
= sammaytuhu zayd-an " (cf. e.g. (7) above)

In respect of (20a), Ibn Jinnî (Khas I: 107) explains that *bi* not only can be considered a part of the verb (cf. discussion in text), but also can be considered a part of the noun it governs, since it and the noun occur in the position of object.

Astarâbâdhî (SK I: 127) uses semantic criteria to distinguish prepositional objects as a type of direct object. "The action of a verb can be related to anything it is semantically compatible with." ^{Q 184} He argues that *zaydin* in *marartu bi zaydin*, though governed in the genitive has the semantic status of a direct object since *zaydin* bears the action. *Zaydin* is a "direct object...except it is called a direct object mediated by a preposition" (cf. Q 184 and Bloch 1986: 53 for historical development of the preposition *bi* as marker of objectivity).

220. I think the possibility should not be ruled out that Ibn Jinnî and later grammarians are in fact following Sîbawaih, if only implicitly. Two points worthy of note in Sîbawaih are first that he recognized that prepositional complements strictly sub-categorize a verb in the same way objects to (I: 13.7) and secondly that there may be times when he implicitly uses similar substitution techniques to those of the later grammarians in respect of prepositional verb complements (I would like to thank Mohammad Ajlouni for discussion of the following problem). One relevant example concerns his discussion of the *'ishtighâl* construction (Sîb I: 42; cf. 7.2.2) when the topi-

(a) c_{abdu} llâhi daraba 'akh-û- hu zaydan
 nom hit brother-nom-his acc
 "As for Abdulla, his brother hit Zayd".

(b) c_{abd-a} llâhi daraba 'akh-a- hu zaydun
 acc acc his nom
 "As for Abdulla, Zayd hit his brother".

(c) â l-sawt- a durib-ta bi-hi
Q def whip-acc hit you by it
"As for the whip, were you hit with it?"

(d) 'a zayd-an marar-ta bi-hi
acc pass you by him
"As for Zayd, did you pass him?"

(e) *â l-sawt-a duribta "As for the whip, were you hit (i.e. with it)?"
acc

(f) *'a zayd-an mararta (marra must occur with bi)

222. Cf. also the difference in meaning between **ḥazana** "cause s.o. to be sad" and **ʾahzana** "cause s.o. to become sad", where both verbs are transitive (Sfb II: 248-9, summarized by Saad 1982: 72-3).

223. Recall that it is examples such as these which originally led to the formulation of the lexicalist hypothesis (Chomsky 1970).

224. It is also known by the term "the verb whose form is for predication with an object" ('al-fi^Clu l-mabnî l-il-maf^Cûl), i.e. the object rather than agent forms the predication with the verb (Mun I: 23 Zam 258, Carter 1981: 181).

225. Anbârî notes that the agent may be deleted for a number of reasons: because one is ignorant of who did the action, or does not want to mention them, or if one wants to make the sentence short and concise.

226. Among the later grammarians (IH: QN: 187) it is called the "deputy agent" (nâ'ibun^C an 'al-fâ^Cil; Saad 1979).

227. Levin notes correctly that Mubarrad's intention is not completely clear, but that probably for Mubarrad **musnad** = the first item, i.e. topic/verb, and **musnad 'ilayhi** the second, i.e. comment/agent.

Baṭalyûsî (145 ff.) confirms Levin's supposition in regards to Mubarrad. Baṭalyûsî credits Zajjâj (Mubarrad's student) with having made the correlation between topic = agent and comment = verb, where the common parameter is **ḥadîth** "report, conversation": topic/agent = **tuḥuddithu^C anhu** "what is spoken about", vs. comment/verb = **ḥadîth** "report, conversation, tale".

228. This is if the noun is not marked by a preposition (cf. note 230). Mubarrad IV: 51 and Zajjâjî (**Jumal**: 78, also Zam 259) gives preference to the indirect object if a direct object is present as well though in the case of verbs whose second object is obligatory (e.g. (17) above), only the first object passivizes (though cf. Ast SK I: 83, 84 for differing opinions on this as well as for other points of detail). Sarrâj (I: 89, also IA I: 512= notes that if both objects are persons one cannot arbitrarily choose one or the other as deputy agent without changing the meaning. In this case the deputy agent will always be construed as the original object.

- (a) 'a^Cṭaytu zaydan 'aḥmada "I gave Zayd to Ahmad".
- (b) 'u^Cṭiya zaydun 'aḥmada "Zayd was given to Ahmad".
- ≠ (c) 'u^Cṭiya zaydan 'aḥmadu "Ahmad was given to Zayd".

229. This hierarchy is the same in spirit as Fillmore's (1968) in which the subject is chosen according to a case hierarchy (Ag > Inst > Loc > Obj).

230. Mubarrad (IV: 50, 51) (I believe) says that if a bi-transitive has both objects marked by the accusative, then it is preferred to make the indirect object derived agent.

- (a) 'a^Cṭâ zaydan dirhaman ---> "He gave Zayd a dirham".
- (b) 'u^Cṭiya zaydun dirhaman "Zayd was given a dirham".

However, if the indirect object is marked by a preposition the direct object would take precedence.

- (c) rafa^ca ilâ zaydin dirhaman --->
 present to gen acc "He presented a dirham to Zayd".
rufi^ca ilâ zaydin dirhamun "A dirham was presented to Zayd".

231. A third possibility (IS I: 89-91) is to have an understood cognate verbal noun (absolute object) as understood agent, i.e. =

- sîra bi zaydin (sayrun) "(A journeying) was travelled".
 journeying (understood abs obj)

232. The promotion of **ḍharf** to direct object is also important in topicalization and focalization (cf. 9.4, Mub IV: 327 ff., Fârisî Td: 646, 647).

233. Later grammarians did not necessarily clarify the stages by which circumstantial objects became agents. Zamakhsharî, for example, who has one of the most concise and organized summaries of Arabic grammar, does not mention the promotion of circumstance in his section on the passive (259), though he does note the hierarchy between direct object and other objects (e.g. (33) above).

Elsewhere (55) he mentions the promotion of circumstance in regards to topicalization and focalization^{α 186} (cf. Mub IV: 328) though does not relate it to passivization.

234. **Naql** is also a phonological process in which a vowel is changed from one position to another. Ibn ^cAqîl (I: 227-331) uses **naql** to describe a sequential reordering whereby a topic is placed after its comment (cf. Ayoub and Bohas 269-71). Cf. also Fârisî ('Aq: 211) where **muntaqil** "moving" describes the property of objects having more sequential variations than the agent.

235. Zajjâjî specifies the form of the passive verb, but does not say it is derived from an active.

236. For example, Ibn ^cUşfûr and Ibn ^cAqîl (SM) did not list passive verbs among the basic types.

237. Baṭalyûsî is better than most of the later linguists in specifying exactly who a particular opinion is associated with. The fact that he does not mention with whom this idea originates suggests it was not a widely held one. Astarâbâdhî (SK I: 127) also mentions this briefly, adopting Baṭalyûsî's opinion.

Chapter 7

238. This includes 40 tokens, 38 types (two questions have two possible analyses with deletion). Deleted items include topics, comments, verbs, the result clause of a conditional sentence, co-referential pronominal objects, absolute and direct objects, second direct object (of bi-transitive verbs), the condition (when a verbal noun), the definite article, the particle **wa** "and", and prepositions (**ft** "at", **li** "to/for",

min "from", all before the complementizer ^can "that", the only position where deletion of a preposition is allowed (SK II: 273).

239. 'Idmār also means "pronominalization, reference by a pronoun", as when it is said that a noun can be referred to by a pronoun, but a verb cannot ('al-fi^clu lā yuḍmaru, IS II: 82, cf. 4.3.1).

240. Cf. Baalbaki (1979: 8-14) for a good discussion of the status of ellipsis in Sībawaih.

241. This is known by grammarians from Mubarrad on as 'ishtighāl "connection" and by Sībawaih as **sabab** "link" (Carter 1985b: 63). 'Istighāl refers to the connection implied in the direct object between the overt verb and the understood verb before it (IH: QN: 192-193). (Cf. Fehri 1984 for discussion of this construction in a generative framework that uses aspects of the Arabic grammarians' analysis.)

242. Ibn Hishām (ML: 804, also Ṣaymarī 326 ff.) notes that so far as possible one makes the understood verb of the same form (**lafdh**) as the overt one. In some cases, however, one has to assume a different verb. In,

(a) zaydan marartu bihi "As for Zayd, I passed him".

one cannot assume the deleted verb to be **marra** because **marra** does not take an accusative object,

(b) *marra zaydan marartu bihi

Instead, a verb like **jāwaza** "pass", which takes accusative object must be assumed.

The Kufans are said to have held that the accusative noun in the 'ishtighāl construction is governed by the overt verb, which then exceptionally governs two objects (Ast SK I: 163).

(c)

zaydan ḍarabtu-hu "Zayd, I hit him".

I think it noteworthy that the Kufans did not dispute that the fronted noun was governed by a verb. In the light of examples like (a) and (b) the idea of an understood verbal governor might appear to be less attractive than an analysis which establishes some sort of special topic position which is marked by an ungoverned accusative noun (in the spirit of Bloch 1986: 118 ff.). Such an analysis, however, would depart radically from the standard dependency analysis of the Arabic grammarians (and hence also from standard modern dependency grammar).

It should be noted that the choice of the 'ishtighāl construction (7c) or of the nominative (7b) is not arbitrary and that the contexts where nominative, accusative, or either can be used are specified in considerable detail (e.g. Ast SK I: 170-178).

(a) 'inna zaydan fî l-dâr "Indeed Zayd is at home".

(b) *'inna yastaqirru zaydun fî l-dâr
remain

the writings of Brecht make good reading ---> Brecht makes good reading

c	<u>i</u> shrû-	<u>na</u>	<u>dirhaman</u>	"20 dirhams"
		↑	acc	
		↓		
	daraba	zaydun	rajulan	"Zayd hit a man".

250. Recently deletion transformations (and indeed generally all but certain movement transformations) have been virtually abandoned

in most versions of transformational-generative grammar. Bloch (1986: 124 n. 6) notes the similarities between **taqdîr** and the structure preservation principle.

251. Or, adding a zero morpheme, as in Harris 1981: 174.

252. A few nouns, including **kull** "all" and **ba^Cq** "some" are noted to require a possessor (**Jumal**: 61-63, Zubaydî KW: 48, Zam 86, 87). However, this is not linked explicitly qua grammatical condition to the interpretation of the deleted pronoun in **ba^Cqî(him)**.

Chapter 8

253. Significantly neither Greenberg (1966) nor Lyons (1969: 79) define markedness, but instead introduce it via examples.

254. Wright uses both "rection" (II: 194) and "government" (II: 45) to translate **amal**, though does not define these terms within any general theoretical framework.

255. Cachia fares even more badly in the English-Arabic section; for "dependence" he uses **ta^Clîq** (p. 21), a straight calque into Arabic (**callaqa** "to attach, make dependent"). This is a term more common in later grammatical theory (e.g. Sakkâkî 228, Ast SK I: 95, 113, 179 etc.) where it means a general semantic relationship (Carter 1981: 135). It is also used to indicate the connection between verb and preposition (not a dependency relation, cf. 6.4.1) and Ibn Maqâ (90 ff.) extends the term to cover relations between an understood noun and a verb in structures akin to conjunction reduction, right-node raising and the like. However, it is never a dependency relation in the sense either of **amal** or dependency/governance as defined by modern grammar.

256. Cf. chapter 3 for various references to markedness in morpho-phonological theory.

257. Ibn Jinnî here joins two parameters: nouns are **'akhaff** and **'aqwâ**, verbs **'athqal** and **'ad^Caf**.

258. As will be seen in 9.2.1, this means that Ibn Jinnî considered the lexical content of a root to be its most basic aspect, the morphological form to be next, and its syntactic component to be its least central feature.

259. I. e. logically, not temporally or diachronically prior; cf. 1.7.2.

260. This explicit schema is relatively late in Arabic theory, though the phenomena it describes was treated by the earliest grammarians, with those of the tenth century being perhaps the most important advocates of this system.

261. It now becomes possible to use the term "hierarchy", recognizing that the hierarchical relations are based on markedness considerations. In Arabic theory, markedness relations established on a pairwise basis quite frequently lead to hierarchies containing a number of elements.

262. If this proves to be the case it would provide an interesting parallel to modern linguistics, where markedness originally was applied to phonology and morphology by the Prague linguists.

263. The resemblances in 2-4 involve the active participle form of the noun. The imperfective verb is said to resemble (**yudâri**^c) this noun, hence its name, **mudâri**^c "imperfective verb".

264. Anbârî (As: 308) argues that two marked properties are required since nouns are basically fully inflected, so it takes more than one marked characteristic to move them from their basic state. However, there are cases where one marked property suffices.

265. In modern linguistics Harris (1965/1981: 264, 265, 279 n. 43) uses exactly the same methodology in the following derivation, providing a performative source for **wh**- questions.

(a) I ask if he will take the pen or he will take the pencil...
or he will take the brush.

---> (b) I ask whether he will take the pen...or the brush...

---> (c) I ask what he will take

---> (d) What will he take?

266. Şaymarî (467) adds the further argument that 'a is more basic than the question particles like **hal** "yes-no?" because 'a is used only for the meaning "yes-no?" whereas **hal** can also be used in the sense of **qad** "might".

267. In a very general way one can compare this with Greenberg's (1966 chapter 4) attempt to find common features for such phenomena as syncretization and facultative occurrence at all levels of grammar.

268. Ayoub and Bohas (32) equate basic ('**asl**) order with "abstract representation", and although they claim (p. 43 n. 7) that their sense of abstract representation is defined in terms used by the Arabic grammarians, I think two caveats are in order. First, the term "abstract representation" immediately conjures up associations with an abstract base structure such as is posited in generative grammar. One will want to know exactly how far this association is pertinent.

Secondly, it suggests that non-basic orders are somehow less abstract than the basic unmarked order, and here I think the implication is wrong. In Bātalyûsî (who lived before most of the sources used by Ayoub and Bohas) deviations from the unmarked sequence result from specific structural, semantic and pragmatic properties of the clause and cannot be said to be less abstract than the basic order. The examples Ayoub and Bohas discuss are different from those discussed here, though the basic processes (**taqdîm wa ta'khîr**) are not, and, by implication, the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic rules governing these processes would not be either.

269. I would not say they are 100% comparable in methodological practice, however. They do coincide in one important sense: given a set of items, certain members can be considered basic, others marked,

and for any given set of items (case inflectional forms or the set of question morphemes, for example) Arabic and modern theory will determine the same items of the set to be 'as1/unmarked and far^c/marked.

Where there is an important difference, however, is that the Arabic grammarians often insist on stating a conditioning reason for a lack of a particular characteristic in the marked category. For instance, the cause (^cilla) for the lack of indefinite form and accusative/genitive contrast in the partially inflected nouns (8.6.3) is the presence of the very categories (e.g. feminine, plural etc.) which are assumed in modern theory to be marked by virtue of the fact that they do not contain the full inflectional paradigm in question. The difference in part is one of style of presentation. In Arabic theory: category Y (e.g. sg) contains attribute A (full case inflection) but category X (e.g. pl) does not have this attribute because X is marked; in western theory: category Y has attribute A, X lacks it, therefore X is marked. Which category should be construed as marked is here treated as the dependent variable while the data itself is treated as a given. In Arabic theory the dependent variable is the lack of the particular linguistic feature (a part of the data) while the markedness categories themselves are given. The difference might be represented as follows.

Arabic		Western	
Basic Y _{sg}	Marked X _{pl}	Y _{sg}	X _{pl}
A	-A	A	-A
A occurs in Y, therefore it is fully inflected	-A occurs in X, therefore it lacks full inflection	Since Y contains A and X lacks certain attributes of A, Y is unmarked and X is marked	
A = full inflection, -A = lack of full inflection			

Less acceptable perhaps is the Arabic reasoning to 'explain' the complete lack of inflectional variation in the inflectionally variable nouns (8.6.2). That they are marked can be conceded since they lack the inflectional characteristics which nouns otherwise have. However, in this case the Arabic reason for this lack, the inclusion of the meaning of a particle would not, I think, figure in a Greenbergian markedness schema.

A great deal more needs to be said about Arabic linguistic methodology and especially the role of explanation in Arabic thinking. I do not, however, think that the results will detract from the major conclusion of this chapter, that the Arabic grammarians predicated a major component of their theory on the notion of markedness.

270. I think a relevant analogy in modern linguistics is to be found in feature-based approaches to syntax, especially those within the systemic tradition (Halliday and Martin 1981, Hudson 1976). In this framework the two types of nouns might be represented as follows.

+N rajulun, rajulan, rajulin "man"

+N
+Prt man, mā

The unmarked case, represented by +N alone, is an inflected noun; if +N also occurs with the feature +Prt it lacks inflection. As with the Arabic grammarians conception, the representation is one of 'simultaneously' occurring components.

271. Note, however, that in Arabic theory both base and marked categories are actually occurring items. The passive is derived from the active as one actual sentence from another. This contrasts with a transformational-type derivation (e.g. Chomsky 1957) where the base structure is entirely abstract and as such has no actual expression (cf. 9.4 for further discussion).

272. I of course am speaking only of syntax. In phonological theory there are a number of close parallels between Arabic theory and modern phonological theory in terms of the categories underlying/surface (cf. Blanc 1979: 166, Guillaume 1981 and Bohas and Guillaume 1984).

273. Insofar as this is a transformational process, I would imagine it would be a Harris-type transformation, or perhaps early Chomsky (1957: 72 n. 3) where noun clause complements are accounted for by transformation not base rule (Chomsky 1965: 248).

274. Recall that indefinite is the basic state of the noun.

275. Ibn Jinnī's transformational-like account of these was discussed in 2.8. The particles do not occur except with nouns and/or verbs and hence are said to "enter" upon nouns and verbs, which can stand by themselves.

276. If one understands in very general terms Gruntfest's (1984) claim that the Arabic grammarians (especially Sībawaih) were early transformationalists then probably he is correct. As in modern transformational grammar they did at time interpret one sentence in terms of another (cf. chapter 7 on ellipsis) and did systematically relate certain grammatical constructions in terms of productive processes (e.g. relations of diathesis, 6.4).

However, the point of comparing modern theory to Arabic practice is, surely, to elucidate the Arabic practice. If the practices are congruent, as I have shown they are in respect of the notion of dependency, then the use of modern western categories does indeed throw considerable light on Arabic theory. If the similarity is rather imprecise, as I have argued it is for transformational grammar, then one must be careful in using the comparison. Perhaps one should refrain from calling the Arabic practice transformationalist in favor of defining their transformationalist-like technique in terms unique to Arabic grammar, the Arabic theory of ellipsis, diathesis, and so on.

Chapter 9

277. This is structurally "bad". **Qad** should occur immediately pre-verb; cf. 4.3.2 and e.g. (5) above.

278. Other grammarians question whether complete synonymy can exist; Ibn Fâris 114, 115, cf. also Ibn Jinnî Khaṣ II: 133, Versteegh 1983: 175).

279. Cf. also Baṭ (In: 48) for multiple meanings of 'aw "or", (58) for ambiguous reference of pronouns, and (122-130) for 13 different meanings (**ma^cnâ**) of the pair **mawt/hayâ** "death/life". Also, on p. 165 he notes that an expression (**kalâm**) can have two or three meanings, where he gives examples of one of the Prophet's sayings which taken out of context could have two contradictory meanings.

280. Cf. IS II: 30, IY III: 56 for summary of the view on inherent definiteness among all types of nouns and chapter 5 n. 208; cf. Anghelescu 1983 on general and specific meaning in Marzûqî.

281. Zajjâjî (Îḍ: 110) has the same analysis except that he talks of the inherent transitivity (**ta^cdiya**) of the verb, rather than of the relation between verb and agent; cf. also Fârisî ('Aq: 206).

Ibn Jinnî's analysis seems to be directly reflected in the **cilmu l-wad^c** (14-15 century) analysis discussed by Weiss, 1976.

282. I might note that one could say that it is **ma^cnâ** which is to be redefined in this case, = "grammatical function" rather than "meaning". I think this is incorrect for two reasons, however. First, when grammatical form is explicitly opposed to meaning, the term for grammatical form is **lafḍh** (or **ṣinâ^ca**, cf. 3.1.2) while that for meaning is **ma^cnâ**. To the extent that grammar and meaning are explicitly contrasted, **ma^cnâ** forms the "meaning" side of the opposition. Secondly, in the unmarked situation there was held to be an isomorphism between functional categories and semantic interpretation, where, for instance, objectivity corresponds to reception of action (cf. 6.1.2; also Q 26 in 2.4.1). While object and agent do have formal definitions, they also have direct semantic analogues. Functional categories embody both semantic and formal attributes.

As I suggest in 9.3, that there are cases where functional and semantic categories do not correspond, as was recognized by the Arabic grammarians (cf. Anbârî In: 79-82 and e.g. (43) in 2.4.1 and 9.2.2 below), reveals a weakness in Arabic theory. This weakness is not to be explained away by redefining the meaning of **ma^cnâ** (as grammatical function) in those contexts where such redefinition is obviously required by modern linguistic criteria.

283. Fârisî (Îḍ: 597) notes that all verbs of sense are transitive.

284. This takes a direct object complement, **'atâ-nî** "he came-me" ("came to me"); cf. e.g. (1, 2) above.

285. Cf. Mubarrad (III: 348) on grammatical and natural gender and some implications for agreement rules.

286. Carter (1972b: 75 n. 1) remarks that Ibn Fâris uses sentence types taken from Greek grammatical practice.

A number of Ibn Fâris' observations are developed more systematically by Sakkâkî, e.g. 302 ff.

287. Carter does not note this explanation for (29a), perhaps a more plausible one than those he does discuss (1981: 127).

288. Baṭalyûsî (In: 91) says that the agent of **mâta** is an agent metaphorically.

289. In fact, he does not even always seem to have fully grasped the significance of his observations. Thus, elsewhere (Khaṣ I: 282) he says that "...if you put a verbal noun into a possessive relation with an agent, the agent is in the genitive case form, but it is understood to have the meaning of the nominative case..."^{Q 187} It appears that the equation agent = nominative noun is considered the norm to such a degree that any discrepancy is measured against this construction.

As I noted in 3.1.2, it is only later with Ibn Hishâm that a clear distinction between form and meaning is formulated.

290. These constructions were called **nawâsikh** by later grammarians (e.g. Ibn Hishâm QN: 116 ff.) though one finds them treated together in successive section as early as Ibn Kaysân (114); cf. Ap 1.6.

291. **Kâna zaydun** is correct if **kâna** is interpreted as "exist", "Zayd existed" (Mub IV: 95, As: 134); sentences with 'inna + noun are in fact attested in earlier classical sources, but were considered deviant (i.e. without the predicate) by later grammarians (cf. Bloch 1986: 113 ff. for discussion).

292. Without the pronoun the construction could be interpreted as noun + modifier (IS II: 129).

293. Farrâ' (I: 45, 281) gives an early interpretation along these lines when he says that **kâna** and **dhanna** require "two things" (**shay'âni**) i.e. two complements.

294. Saad (1982) says that the Arabic grammarians considered sentences like (38d) "clausally complex", whereby the two accusatives "originate" from an equational or nominal sentence (1982: 57). While he is correct to note they are complex, he fails to specify in what sense they originate from an embedded clause (by transformation, phrase structure rule, semantic analogy?). Syntactically I believe the 'base generated' analogy comes closest to the treatment of the Arabic grammarians.

295. Astarâbâdhî (SK I: 21) derives (43a) from **ghulâmun ḥasala li zaydin** "a boy came into the possession of Zayd" with verb + preposition obligatorily deleted.

296. I will not discuss what Zamakhsharî (82) calls the possessive in form construction (**'iḍâfa lafḍhiyya**) which involves a considerable

number of complications (cf. 4.8, 5.3.1). Sîbawaih (I: 177, 178) does not mention the paraphrases with a genitive particle when he discusses the noun-genitive.

297. When I speak of a semantic level I mean a level with clearly defined properties. Jurjânî (cf. 9.5 ff.) envisages a semantic level when he says that a speaker conceives of an idea before expressing it, but he does not propose any specific properties for this level beyond that general idea. This is quite clear in his discussion of how a speaker forms a sentence (Dal: 44, 310, 314, 316) where once a meaning is arrived at, the speaker forms his thoughts in terms of the standard grammatical categories, verb, agent, object, circumstantial complement etc.

298. This is true even in Ibn Hishâm, who most clearly opposed grammatical form to meaning; cf. 3.1.2.

299. In this case I think the failure to formulate categories explicitly works to the detriment of Arabic theory, though this is not always the case. As seen in chapter 2, the notions of structure and function are only implicit, but they are consistently applied throughout Arabic theory.

300. Anbârî does accept that grammatical agent is not necessarily a semantic one (In: 81). I do not know what his position is on agents occurring as possessor.

301. However, it must be admitted that even in modern linguistics no fully coherent semantic descriptive level has yet been proposed.

302. Cf. Larcher (1983: 252-56) for a further problem involving the incompatibility of semantic and syntactic arguments, in this case involving the 'derivation' of locutional phrases such as **salâmun 'alaykum** "peace be upon you" (a greeting) from a sentential source.

303. "The theory outlined in chapters 3 (i.e. transformational theory) was completely formal and non-semantic." (**Syntactic Structures**: 92).

304. He notes for example that a possessed noun cannot undergo this process since a possessed noun never is pronominalized. Thus, in **qâma abû zaydin** "Zayd's father got up" one can identify the possessor Zayd, as follows: **'alladhî qâma 'abû-hu zaydun** "the one whose father got up is Zayd" (-hu = zaydun). One cannot focalize (identify) **'abû** since one cannot pronominalize **'abû** (or any possessed noun) although in this construction the relative clause must contain a pronominal reference to the comment (in (48b) the pronoun is understood in the verb **qâma**) ***'alladhî qâma Ø zaydin abû**.

305. I except from this claim linguistic traditions developed before the Arabs.

306. Mubarrad (III: 342) says that the sentence **zaydun 'asadun** "Zayd is a lion" is incorrect unless an understood **mithl** "like" has been deleted, **zaydun mithlu 'asadin** "Zayd is like a lion". Jurjânî explains

at length the interpretation of such sentences without recourse to deleted items; cf. Baalbaki 1983 for discussion of Jurjānī's relation to Sībawaih on such matters.

307. Anbārī (As: 83, also Baṭ 146 for same example) notes that in **zaydun qāma** if **zaydun** were considered grammatical agent, then in **zaydun qāma abūhu** "As for Zayd his father got up" there would be two agents for the verb, **zaydun** and **abūhu**, and this is impossible.

308. Zajjājī (Iḍ: 136-7) is one of the first to explain the different sequences allowed in a sentence with a verb (e.g. (52)) in terms of which part of the sentence is most important, though he does not develop the analysis in detail.

309. As seen above, structural generalizations such as governor-governed being the unmarked sequence had been made (2.3.5.3). Jurjānī, however, goes beyond this.

310. Baṭalyūsī (94) for a similar rule, though not developed to the extent of Jurjānī; cf. 8.7 for discussion.

311. One of the great failings of Arabic grammatical theory was not to recognize the structural function of intonation in language.

312. The imperfective verb form can be present or future in meaning in Arabic; cf. n. 48.

313. Rammuny (1985: 5) argues that Jurjānī's concept of **naḍhm** and **ta^clīq** "relation" "...would provide an adequate analysis of both syntactic and semantic functions of the constituents of discourse, and, hence, would lead to a better understanding and explanation of the Arabic inflectional system than that provided by grammatical regents and causes."

It is not clear where Rammuny gets this interpretation from. So far as I know, Jurjānī never advocated doing away with the explanatory system of **'i^crāb**, and indeed his basic work on grammar, **Al-Muqtaṣid** (over 1000 pages) assumes the system in full.

I think it can be said that Jurjānī understood that a system of grammar based solely on **'i^crāb** was inadequate, but it does not follow that he therefore was ready to reject the entire edifice in favor of a new structure grounded only on the ideas of **naḍhm** and **ta^clīq**.

314. I do not think Jurjānī gave this component a specific name. He calls the chapter **taqdīm wa ta'khīr** "fronting and backing", which is the standard term in Arabic linguistics to describe word order variation (cf. 9.3 for Sakkākī's schema).

315. It is unclear how the thematic element would be analyzed in examples of this type. Jurjānī's commentator Qazwīnī does not really clear up the question either.

316. Unfortunately Jurjānī does not discuss the interaction between these two situations. One can have,

- (a) qatala l-khârijiyya zaydun
- (b) qatala zaydun il-khârijiyya

where, according to (54) or (60) **qatala** is most important, but also the initial noun is most important (e.g. (53)). One suspects that if Jurjânî had considered such cases he would have had to make his model somewhat more complicated.

317. Perhaps 'theme' could be used here for 'topic'.

318. Nor do I think Jurjânî explains it in his grammatical commentary '**Al-Muqtaṣid** (I: 306-9).

One recent account (Rammuny 1985: 19 ff.) I think fails to explicate the entire range of Jurjânî's discussion on this point.

319. Halliday's analysis is considerably more complex than this, partly because he takes intonation into account, which makes a strict comparison with Jurjânî impossible; cf. n. 311 above.

320. Even in Halliday (1976), however, sentences like this are not analyzed.

321. Even here there has been curiously little research on the influence of the Arabic grammatical tradition on the medieval European.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF MEDIEVAL ARABIC LINGUISTICS WHOSE WORKS ARE CITED

Linguist	Place of work	Date of death (Muslim/Christian)
Sîbawaih	Basra	177/793
Qutrub	Basra	206/821
Farrâ'	Baghdad	207/822
'Akhfash	"	215/830 or 221/835
'Aşma ^c î	"	216/831
Sijistânî	"	255/868
Mubarrad	"	285/898
Tha ^c lab	"	291/904
Ibn Kaysân	"	299/911 or 320/932
Lughda		311/923
Zajjâj	"	311/923
Ibn Al-Sarrâj	"	316/928
Ibn Durayd	"	321/932
Anbârî (Abû Bakr)	"	328/939
Zajjâjî	" /Damascus	337/949 or 340/951
Sîrâfî, Abî Sa ^c îd al-Ḥasan	"	337/949
Naḥḥâs	Cairo	338/950
Sîrâfî, Abû Mohammad	Baghdad	368/979
Al-'Azharî	"	371/980
Fârisî	"	377/987
Zubaydî	Spain	379/988
Ibn Jinnî	Baghdad/Mosul/Aleppo	392/1002
Ibn Fâris	Baghdad/Rey (N. central Persia)	395/1004
Şaymarî	Baghdad/Egypt	early 5 th /11 th
Harawî	Baghdad	415/1023
Ibn Sînâ	Rey (Persia)	428/1036
Tha ^c âlabî	Persia	429/1037
Ghundajânî	Persia (?)	430/1038 (?)
Qaysî	Tunisia (Karawân)/ Spain (Cordoba)	437/1045
Ibn Burhân 'Al- ^c Ukbarî	Baghdad	456/1063
Khafâjî	Aleppo	466/1073
Jurjânî	Rey	471/1078

Linguist	Place of work	Date of death (Muslim/Christian)
Baṭalyûsî	Spain	521/1127
Zamakhsharî	Baghdad/Mawrad (Persia)	538/1154
Ibn Hishâm Haḍamî	Spain	550/1154
Anbârî, Abû Barakât	Baghdad	577/1187
Ibn Maḍâ	Cordoba	592/1195
Sakkâkî	Khuwârzum (NE Persia)	626/1228
Ibn Ya ^C îsh	Baghdad/Aleppo	643/1245
Ibn Hâjib	Cairo	646/1248
Ibn ^C Uşfûr	Spain	669/1270
Astarâbâdhî	Persia/Mecca	686/1286
Qazwînî	Persia	739/1338
Ibn Khaldûn	Spain/North Africa	758/1356
Ibn Hishâm Al'Anşârî	Cairo	761/1360
Ibn ^C Aqîl	Cairo	768/1367
Suyûṭî	Cairo	911/1505
'Ushmawnî	Cairo	927/1520
Bâshâ	Turkey	940/1533
Shirbînî	Cairo	979/1570

APPENDIX II

BRIEF SUMMARY OF GRAMMATICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

In this appendix are very briefly summarized the main grammatical constructions referred to in the text. I should emphasize that no attempt is made at total comprehensiveness, either in terms of the range of major constructions or their sub-types. On the other hand, it is hoped that with this appendix the reader unfamiliar with Arabic will be able to understand the basic theoretical precepts which are discussed in the text and which relate directly to the data presented in the appendix. The classifications follow the same general categories as are recognized by the Arabic grammarians (Basran perspective where relevant), though the order of presentation is not necessarily the same. The following categories are highlighted.

- (1) Word classes
- (2) Inflectional properties
- (3) Noun morphology
- (4) Verb morphology
- (5) The sentence
 - (a) type
 - (b) distribution
- (6) Objects
- (7) Genitive (adnominal) complements
- (8) Noun modifiers
- (9) Governors of nouns

It will be noted that (2, 6, 7, 8) and (9) are identified mainly by their inflectional properties, a point which underscores the importance of this parameter in Arabic grammatical theory (cf. 1.8).

1. Word classes

There are three word classes, nouns, verbs and particles.

1.1 Nouns

Nouns include common and proper nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, personal and relative pronouns and numerals.

rajulun "a man", **zaydun** "Zayd", **tawîlun** "tall", **hadhâ** "this", **-nî** "me" (object), **'anâ** "I" (nominative), **'alladhî** "who", **thalâtha** "three".

1.2 Verbs

Verbs are perfect or imperfect.

kataba "he wrote", **yaktubu** "he writes"

1.3 Particles

Particles comprise a heterogeneous class. They can be divided according to those that do or do not govern another word.

Do govern: prepositions **min** "from", **fî** "at"; mode markers **kay** "so that", **lan** "negative future", **hattâ** "to the extent that", **lâ** "not, don't", **lam** "negative past", **'in** "if, conditional"; complementizers **'an**, **'anna** "that"...

Do not govern: tense markers **sawfa/sa-** "future"; discourse emphasizers **la** "nominal S emphasizer", **-nna** "verb emphasizer"; Q particles **'a**, **hal** "yes-no?"; vocative **yâ**; coordinating particles **wa** "and", **fa** "and then", **thumma** "then", **lakin** "but", **'aw** "or"...

1.4 Inflection

Words are either uninflected (**mabnî**) or inflected (**mu^crab**) for case/mode. In the noun the case inflections are nominative, accusative and genitive; the mode inflections are indicative, subjunctive and jussive. The perfective verb is uninflected, the imperfective inflected. All particles are uninflected. Nouns are basically inflected, but some of them are partially inflected (**ghayr munşarif**) having a single accusative/genitive form, and others, especially function words, have no distinct inflectional forms at all (are **mabnî**).

Sample paradigms

Inflected words

<u>rajul-un</u>	"man nom"	<u>yaktub-u</u>	"he writes-indic"
<u>rajul-an</u>	"man acc"	<u>yaktub-a</u>	"he writes-sbjc"
<u>rajul-in</u>	"man gen"	<u>yaktub-</u>	"he writes-jus"

Partially inflected

<u>'akbar-u</u>	"bigger nom"
<u>'akbar-a</u>	"bigger acc/gen"

Uninflected

Particles: **fî** "at", **lâ** "no, don't", **'inna** "indeed"...

Verbs: **kataba** "he wrote", **'intaqala** "he moved", **'uktub** "write"! (imp)

Nouns: **man** "who?", **-tu** "I", **hadhâ** "this"...

(The limited number of forms with consonantal inflectional markers are not dealt with in this study (though cf. 3.3.4).)

1.5 Noun morphology

1.5.1 Definiteness

Nouns are definite or indefinite.

1.5.1.1 Indefinite nouns ends in **-n** (**tanwîn**, boldface).

rajul-u- n "a man" bint-u- n "a girl"
man nom indef

1.5.1.1 The definite noun drops the final **-n**, adding the prefix **al-**.

'al-rajul-u "the man" 'al-bint-u "the girl"

1.5.2 Possession

If a noun is possessed it may take neither the definite article nor the indefinite **-n**. Its definiteness is defined by that of the possessor noun.

sâhib-u bint-i-n "a friend of a girl"
sâhib-u l-bint-i "a friend of the girl"

If a noun takes the plural marker **-ûna** (nom) (**-îna** acc/gen), or dual **-âni** (nom) (**-ayni** acc/gen), when possessed the final **-nV** is dropped.

muslim-û l-madîna "the Muslims of the city"
bint-â-hum "their 2 daughters"
their

1.5.3 Number and gender

Nouns are masculine or feminine. Most feminine nouns end in **-a** (**-at** in non-pausal contexts) and masculine and a few feminine nouns are unmarked.

m	f
<u>kalb</u> "dog"	<u>kalb-a</u> "bitch"
<u>qamar</u> "moon"	<u>shams</u> "sun" (f, unmarked)

Number is singular, dual or plural.

muslimun "a Muslim", **muslim-âni** "2 Muslims" (nom, **-ayni** acc/gen),
muslim-ûna "Muslims" (nom, **-îna** acc/gen)

There are two types of plural nouns, sound and broken. Sound plurals suffix **-ûna** (**-îna**) to the singular; broken plurals change the internal structure of the word in some way, usually through a change in vowel pattern.

<u>dirhamun</u> "a dirham"	<u>darâhimu</u> "dirhams"
<u>shattun</u> "a shore"	<u>shutûtun</u> "shores"

1.6 Verb morphology

In the perfect the verb takes tense/number/person suffixes. The 3 m sg is the unmarked form (and is used as citation form).

<u>kataba</u> "he wrote"	<u>katab-â</u> "they 2 wrote"	<u>katab-û</u> "they m wrote"
<u>katab-at</u> "she wrote"	<u>katab-na</u> " f "	
<u>katab-ta</u> "you m wrote"	<u>katab-tum</u> "you pl "	
<u>katab-ti</u> " f "	<u>katab-tum-â</u> "you 2 wrote"	<u>katab-tunna</u> "you f pl "
<u>katab-tu</u> "I wrote"		<u>katab-nâ</u> "we wrote"

The imperfect takes person prefixes and number/gender suffixes.

<u>ya-ktub-u</u> "he writes"		<u>ya-ktub-ûna</u> "they m write"
<u>ta-ktub-u</u> "she writes"	<u>ya-ktub-âni</u> "they 2 write"	<u>ya-ktub-na</u> "they f write"
<u>ta-ktub-u</u> "you m write"		<u>ta-ktub-ûna</u> "you m pl write"
<u>ta-ktub-îna</u> "you f write"		<u>ta-ktub-na</u> "you f pl write"
<u>'a-ktub-u</u> "I write"		<u>na-ktub-u</u> "we write"

1.6.1 Imperfective verb

The imperfective verb is inflected for mode: indicative, subjunctive, and jussive. Indicative verbs end in **-u** and are ungoverned.

yaktub-u "he writes"

Subjunctive verbs end in **-a** and can be governed by the following particles: **lan** "negative future", **hattâ** "to the extent that", **kay** "so that", **la'illâ** "lest", **'idhan** "thus".

lan yaktub-a "he won't write"

The jussive verb lacks an overt case suffix. It is governed by one of the particles (including) **lam** "negative past", **lâ** "negative imperative", **'in** "if"...

lâ taktub "don't write"

1.6.2 Perfective

The perfective verb is uninflected for mode.

kataba "he wrote"

1.6.3 Imperative

The imperative verb is also uninflected for mode.

'uktub "write"!

2. The sentence

There are two main sentence types, verbal and nominal (non-verbal).

2.1 Nominal. Nominal sentences have a nominative noun occurring before the predicate.

zaydun qâma "Zayd got up".
'akh-û- hu tawîl-u- n "His brother is tall".
 nom his tall nom indef

It consists of two parts, a topic and a comment.

2.1.1 Topic

The topic is a noun or pronoun in the nominative case.

zayd-un/huwa tawîlun "Zayd/he is tall".
 topic comment

2.1.2 Comment

The comment can be one of the following.

(a) A noun or pronoun in the nominative case,

zaydun rajulun/ṭawīlun "Zayd is a man/tall".

(b) a sentence,

zaydun darab-tu-hu "As for Zayd, I hit him".
hit I him

(ḍarabtu "I hit him" can stand by itself as a verbal sentence)

zaydun 'akhū-hu ṭawīlun "As for Zayd, his brother is tall".
his

With a sentential comment, the comment must have a pronoun referring to the topic (-**hu** in examples above).

(c) An adverbial element, either a prepositional phrase or a circumstantial noun in the accusative

zaydun fī l-bayti "Zayd is at home".
at house-gen

zaydun fawq-a-ka "Zayd is above you".
above acc you

2.2 Verbal sentence

Verbal sentences have a verb before the nominative noun.

qāma zaydun "Zayd got up".

It consists of two parts, a verb and an agent.

2.2.1 Verb

qāma zaydun "Zayd got up".

yaqūmu zaydun "Zayd gets up/will get up".

qum ('inta) "Get up (you)"!

2.2.2 Agent

The agent can be a nominative noun or pronoun, or a noun clause.

qum-tu "I got up".
I

balagha-nî 'annaka taqūmu "It reached me that you were getting
reached me that you get up up (I was informed that...)"

2.3 Distribution

The sentence occurs (relevant distribution in boldface),

(a) as an independent entity

qāma zaydun "Zayd got up".

(b) as a dependent clause (**ṣila**); this can be a complement to a relative pronoun,

'alladhî qâma zaydun "The one who got up is Zayd".

who got up

'alladhî 'akhûhu tawîlun zaydun "The one whose brother is tall is Zayd".

brother his tall

tall is Zayd".

or to a complementizer,

balaghanî 'anna zaydan qâma "I was informed that Zayd got up".

reached me that

balaghanî 'anna 'akhâhu tawîlun "I was informed that his brother is tall".

brother is tall".

(c) as comment,

zaydun 'akhûhu tawîlun "As for Zayd, his brother is tall".

(d) as condition (hâl),

laqîtu-hu yarkabu l-farasa "I found him mounting the mare".

found I him mount def mare

(e) a modifier to an indefinite noun (= na^ct),

laqîtu rajul-a-n yarkabu farasan

man acc indef

"I found a man mounting a horse"

(f) possessor to a temporal noun,

laqîtu yawma zaydun 'amfrun "I met him when Zayd was the prince".

day

prince

prince".

3 Object complements

Eight types of object complements are distinguished, divided between the true and pseudo objects. All are in the accusative.

3.1 True Objects

3.1.1 Absolute (maf^cûl muṭlaq)

The absolute object is a verbal noun, usually cognate with the main verb, emphasizing the action of the verb.

darabtuhu darb- an "I really hit him".

hitting acc

sirtu sîfran tawîlan "I traveled a long journey".

traveling long

3.1.2 Direct (maf^cûl bihi)

The direct object is a noun or pronoun or noun clause. There can be one, two or three direct objects, depending on the valency of the verb.

^calim-tu l-darsa "I learned the lesson".

learned I def lesson

^callamtu-hu l-darsa "I taught him the lesson".

taught I him

obj obj

3.1.3 Circumstance (dharf or maf^cûl fîhi)

sir- tu yawn-a l-jum^Cati mflayn "On Friday I went two miles".
 went I day Friday 2
jalastu khalf-a- hā "I sat behind her".
 sat I behind acc her
jalastu ff l-bayti "I sat at home".
 at def home

mâ sana^c-ta wa 'abâ-ka "What did you make with your father?"
what make you and father your

fa^cal-tu kadhâ mukhâfat-a l-sharri
did I thus fearing acc bad
"I did that fearing the worst".

<u>jā'a</u>	<u>zaydun</u>	<u>rākiban</u>	<u>farasan</u>	(= AP)	"Zayd came riding a mare".
came	zayd	riding	mare		
"	"	<u>yadribu</u>	<u>'akhāhu</u>	(= S)	"Zayd came hitting his
		he hits			brother".

daraba zaydun 'akhâhu râkib- ayni farasayn
 brother his riding 2 2

"Zayd hit his brother while both were riding mares".

3.2.2 The specifier (cf. Wright II: 122 ff.)

There are two types of specifiers (**tamyfz**), both always indefinite. They are nominals semantically closely linked to the word they describe. They are distinguished from the condition (3.2.1) *inter alia* in that they tend to be nouns, not participles, and the noun they modify can be definite or indefinite. Their semantic link to the noun also tends to be closer.

One type is closely linked to a noun via a characteristic predicate.

tâba zaydun nafsan "Zayd was good of soul".
 be good soul
tasabbaba l-farasu ^caraqan "The mare dripped sweat".
 dripped mare sweat

The second describes a noun, usually a money or measurement noun.

ratlu samm-an "a pound of ghee"
 ghee acc
^cishrûna dirham-an "20 dirhams"

3.2.3 The exception ('istithnâ')

The exception is an accusative noun that occurs after a set of particles, the most characteristic of which is **'illâ** "except".

ra'aytu l-nâsa **'illâ** zaydan "I saw the people, except Zayd".
 saw I people except zayd
qâma l-qawm-u **'illâ** zaydan "The people, except Zayd, got up".
 got up people nom except

4. Genitive complements ('idâfa)

Genitive complements occur as objects of prepositions and as possessors.

4.1 Object of preposition

Objects of prepositions can be nouns or pronouns.

min il-bint-i "from the girl" fî-hâ "in it"
 def girl gen

4.2 Possessor

Possessors can be sentences (cf. 2.3 f), nouns or pronouns.

baytu l-bint-i "the girl's house"
baytu-hâ "her house"
yawmu yaqûmu zaydun "the day Zayd gets up" (S possessor)

If a noun is possessed, it cannot take the indefinite **-n** suffix.

bintu rajul-in "a daughter of a man"
 not *bintu-n rajulin
 indef

Nouns ending in the suffix **-ûna/âni** "pl/dual" drop the **-nV** when possessed.

bayt- â l-rajuli "the 2 houses of the man"
house 2 def man gen

5. Modifiers (**tawâbi^C**)

There are five classes of modifiers (lit. "followers"), all of which have the same case as the noun they follow.

5.1 Emphasis, **tawkîd/ta'kîd**

Emphasizers describe a definite noun. They consist of a small set of words like **kull** "all", **ba^Cḏ** "some", **'ajma^C** "all" and **nafs** "self"

ra'aytu l-rijâl-a kullahum/nufûsahum
men-acc all acc /selves

"I saw the men, all of them/I saw the men themselves".

5.2 Adjective, **sifa/na^Ct**

Adjectives agree with the noun they modify in case, definiteness, number and gender (though the rules for the latter two categories are rather complicated).

rajul-u- n tawfîl-u- n "a tall man"
nom indef tall nom indef
'al-bint-u l-tawfîl- at-u "The tall girl"
def girl nom def tall f nom
'al-rijâl-i l-tiwâl- i "(of) the tall men"
def men gen def tall(pl)-gen

Phrases and sentences are also analyzed as adjectives in certain cases. One is where a sentence modifies an indefinite noun (cf. 2.3 e in Ap).

marartu bi waladin yal^Cabu kura
Passed I by boy he-playing football

"I passed a boy playing football".

5.3 Permutative, **badal**

The permutative has the same referent as the noun it modifies. Four types are often distinguished.

(a) the part (**'al-ba^Cḏ**)

ra'aytu 'aṣḥâb- a-ka 'akthar- a-hum "I saw your friends,
saw I friends acc your most acc them most of them".
ḏarabtu zaydan ra's- a-hu "I hit Zayd on the head".
hit I head acc his

(b) correction (**'al-ghalṭa**)

ra'aytu rajul-an ḥimâr-an "I saw a man, or rather, a donkey".
man acc donkey acc

(c) the whole ('al-kull)

jâ'anî zaydun 'akh-û-ka "Zayd, your brother, came to me".
came me nom brother nom-your

(d) the inclusive ('ishtimâl)

yu^cjibunî zaydun 'aql-u-hu "Zayd pleases me with his
please me intelligence nom his intelligence".

5.4 Coordinate, atf or nasq

The coordinate modifier is joined to the modified by a coordinating particle.

jâ'anî zaydun wa/thumma hindun "Zayd and/then Hind came to me".

5.5 Explicative, atf bayân

This is similar to the badal (the whole, (c)) except that the modifier serves to describe the modified noun.

ra'aytu 'akhâka zaydan "I saw your brother Zayd".

(In the badal one can substitute the permutative for the modified with no change in meaning; in the explicative the modifier has the value of a descriptive adjective.)

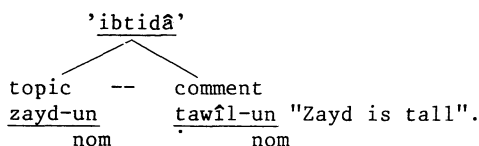
6. Governors of nouns

Governors of nouns are the following.

6.1 Of topic and comment

6.1.1 Non-verbal sentences (nominal sentences)

These are sentences which begin with a nominative noun. In a nominal sentence the topic is governed by the fact of beginning ('ibtidâ') and the comment by the 'ibtidâ', governing through the topic.



6.1.2 Nawâsikh

The nawâsikh (lit. "abolishers") are three types of governors which "enter" a basic nominal sentence and change its governance properties, though otherwise the sentence maintains most of the attributes of the topic-comment construction.

6.1.2.1 kâna "be"

The two complements of kâna (and other verbs of its class) are called the noun (ism corresponding to topic, in this case designating a functional category, not a word class) in the nominative case, and comment (khavar) in the accusative.

kâna zayd-un tawîl-an "Zayd was tall".
 was nom tall acc
 ism comment

6.1.2.2 'inna "indeed, discourse emphasizer"

Its complements are the noun (**ism** as functional category) in the accusative and comment (**khabar**) in the nominative.

'inna zayd-an tawîlun "Indeed Zayd is tall".

6.1.2.3 dhanna "think"

Dhanna (and other verbs of its class) is a bi-transitive verb governing two accusative complements.

dhanna zaydan tawîlan "He thought Zayd tall".

6.2 Governor of agent

Governors of agents include the following.

6.2.1 The verb

The verb governs the agent or deputy (derived) agent (passive verb) in the nominative.

kataba l-bint-u risâlatan "The girl wrote a letter".
 wrote def girl nom letter
kutiba risâlat-un "A letter was written".
 written letter nom

6.2.2 Active participle

The active participle governs a nominative agent.

marartu bi rajulin qâribin 'ab- ũ- hu zaydan
 passed I by man hitting (AP) father-nom-his
 "I passed a man whose father was hitting Zayd".

6.3 Governor of object

The object is always accusative. Its governors include the following.

6.3.1 The verb

Depending on their valency, verbs govern anywhere from 0 to 3 direct objects as well as the other categories of object (cf. Ap 3).

hamala zaydun 'al-matâ^c-a yawm-a l-khamîs
 carried def loads acc day acc Thursday
 "Zayd carried the loads on Thursday".

6.3.2 The active participle

zaydun hâmilun 'al-matâ^c-a yawma l-khamîs
 AP
 "Zayd is carrying the loads on Thursday".

6.3.3 The nominal verb (ismu l-fi^cl)

The nominal verb, a noun or preposition + object that takes the status of a verb, can govern an accusative object.

halumma l-tharfd-a "Bring the gruel!"
 def gruel
^calay-ka zayd-an "You take Zayd!"
 on you

6.4 Governor of genitive

The genitive can be governed either by a noun (possessed) or preposition.

baytu l-bint-i "the girl's house"
 def girl gen
fî l-bayt-i "in the house"

APPENDIX III
ORIGINAL ARABIC QUOTES

٠١. ابن السراج ، ج١ ، ص ٣٧
واعتلالات النحويين على ضربين : ضرب منها هو المؤدي الى كلام العرب ، كقولنا :
كل فاعل مرفوع ، وضرب آخر يسمى علة العلة ، مثل أن يقولوا : لم صار الفاعل
مرفوعا والمفعول به منصوبا .
٠٢. ابن كيسان ، ص ١٠٩
وذلك قولك : الله الهنا ومحمد نبينا ، وزيد أخوك ، الأول يرفع بالابتداء
والثاني خبر الابتداء يرتفع بالأول ، وبعضهم يقول ارتفع هذا بهذا . وهذا
٠٣. ابن فارس ، ص ١٧
وقد قال بعض علمائنا حين ذكر ما للعرب من الاستعارة والتمثيل والقلب والتقديم
والتأخير وغيرها من سنن العرب في القرآن فقال : ولذلك لا يقدر أحد من التراجم
على أن ينقله الى شيء من الألسنة كما نقل الانجيل عن السريانية الى الحيشية
والرومية ، وترجمت التوراة والزيور وسائر كتب الله عز وجل بالعربية لأن
العجم لم تتسع في المجاز اتساع العرب .
٠٤. الزبيدي ، الطبقات ، ص ١١
ثم جعل كل أمة من الأمم على لغة أنطقهم بها ، ويسرهم لها ، وجعل اللسان
العربي أعذب الألسنة مخرجا ، وأعدلها منهجا ، وأوضحها بيانا ، وأوسعها
افتنانا ، وجعل الاعراب حليا للسان ، وزمنا . وفصلا لما اختلف فيه من معانيه .
٠٥. المبرد ، ج١ ، ص ٣
كل ما دخل عليه حرف من حروف الجر فهو اسم ، وإن امتنع من ذلك فليس باسم .
٠٦. اللغدة ، ص ٢٤٣
ولم يجرز الاضافة مع الألف واللام لأنهما تعاقبان التنوين ، فكما لم تثبت الاضافة
مع التنوين كذلك لم تثبت مع المعاقب له .
٠٧. المبرد ، ج١ ، ص ٩٦
هذا باب ما كانت الواو أو الياء منه في موضع العين من الفعل .
٠٨. المبرد ، ج٣ ، ص ٢٠٢
ولكنها اسما وضعت للفعل تدل عليه فاجريت مجراه ما كانت في مواضعها .
٠٩. الزمخشري ، ص ٣٤
المفعول به هو الذي يقع عليه فعل الفاعل .
١٠. الجرجاني ، الدلائل ، ص ٤٤
لا نظم في الكلم ولا ترتيب حتى يعلق بعضها ببعض ويبني بعضها على بعض . . . وإذا
نظرنا في ذلك علمنا أن لا محصول لها غير ان تعتمد الى اسم فتجعله فاعلا لفعل

أو مفعولا أو تعتمد الى اسمين فتجعل أحدهما خيرا عن الآخر أو تتبع الاسم اسما على أن يكون الثاني صفة للأول أو تأكيداً له .

١١. السراج ، ج^١ ، ص ٨٣ .
١١. IS I: 83
فالاسم الذي يرتفع بانه فاعل هو والفعل جملة يستغنى عليها السكوت ... ويتم الكلام به .

١٢. الفارسي، المسائل العسكرية ، ص ٨١ .
١٢. Fârisî^c Ask: 81
هذا باب : ما اختلف من هذه الألفاظ الثلاثة كان كلاما مستقلا ، وهو السبدي بسميه أهل العربية : الحمل .

١٣. ابن هشام ، معنى اللبيب ، ص ٤٩٠ .
١٣. IH ML: 490
الكلام : هو القول المفيد بالقصد . والمراد بالمفيد ما دل على معنى يحسن السكوت عليه .
والجملة عبارة عن الفعل وفاعله ، ك " قام زيد " . والمبتدأ وخبره ، ك " زيد قائم " .

١٤. الاسترادي ، شرح الكافية ، ص ٨ .
١٤. Ast SK: 8
فكل كلام جملة ولا يتعكس .

١٥. السراج ، الموجز ، ص ٢٨ .
١٥. IS Mûjaz 28
الاعراب أن يتعاقب آخر الكلمة ... باختلاف العوامل ، فإذا زال العامل زالت الحركة أو السكون .

١٦. الفارسي، المسائل العسكرية ، ص ٢١٤ .
١٦. Fârisî^c Ask: 214
قال البصريون : الاسم لا يرفع الا ما قبله لأن الرفع عامل ، والمرفوع معمول فيه ، ورتبة العامل التقدم على ما تعمل فيه . فإذا قال القائل ، قام زيد ، فالجملة مقامها النجار ، ومقام قام الفأس وزيد بمنزلة الخشية التي تعمل ويؤثر فيها الفأس ، فالضمة في (زيد) عملها وأثرها (قام) كما يؤثر الفأس في الخشية الأثر الذي يشاهد ويرى .

١٧. ابن السراج ، ج^٢ ، ص ٣٩ و ٤٠ .
١٧. IS II: 39, 40
لا يجوز نصبه على الحال ، لاختلاف العاملين ، لأنه لا يجوز أن يعمل في شيء عاملان .

١٨. ابن يعيش ، ج^٣ ، ص ٨٦ .
١٨. IY III: 86
ومن ذلك قوله تعالى (لجعلنا لمن يكفر بالرحمن لبيوتهم سقفا من فضة) فقوله لبيوتهم بدل من لمن يكفر بالرحمن وهو بدل الاشتمال وقد أظهر العامل قالوا فلو كان العامل في البديل هو العامل في المبدل منه لأدى ذلك الى محال وهو أن يكون قد عمل في الاسم عاملان .

١٩. السراج ، ج^١ ، ص ١٠٢ .
١٩. IS I: 102
ولا يحسن عندي ان تقول : " اكلا كان زيد طعامك " من أجل أنك فرقت بين أكل ، وبين ما عمل فيه بعامل آخر .

٢٠. السراج ، ج^١ ، ص ١٥٢ .
٢٠. IS I: 152
وانما يكره الفصل بين العامل والمعمول فيه بما ليس منه .

٢١. الجرجاني ، المقتضب ، ص ٤٢٦ .
٢١. Jurjânî Muqt: 426
اعلم انه لا يجوز الفصل بين العامل والمعمول بالأجنبي .

٢٢. البطليوسي، ص ١٧٠ .
٢٢. Baṭalyūsî 180
لا يجوز ان تفصل بين كان واسمها بما لم تعمل فيه .

٢٣. السراج ، ج^٢ ، ص ٢٦٧ .
23. IS II: 267
الالغاء انما هو ان تأتي الكلمة لا موضع لها من الاعراب ان كانت مما تعرب .
٢٤. السراج ، ج^١ ، ص ١٠٨ .
24. IS I: 108
مرتبة العامل قبل المعمول فيه ، ملفوظا به او مقدرا .
٢٥. الاستربادي ، شرح الكافية ، ص ٢٩٨ .
25. Ast SK I: 298
يخرج هذه الأشياء لأن ارتفاع المبتدأ من جهة كونه مبتدأ وارتفاع الخبر من جهة أخرى وهي كونه خبر المبتدأ وكذا انتصاب أول المفعولين من جهة كونه أولهما وانتصاب الثاني من جهة كونه ثانيهما وانتصاب الأول في ضربت زيدا قائما من جهة كونه مفعولا به وانتصاب الثاني من جهة كونه حالا .
٢٦. الانباري ، الانصاف ، ص ٥٥٧ .
26. Anbārī In: 557
لجاز ان يقال : إن زيدا في قولك " أكرمت زيدا " لم ينتصب بالفعل، وانما انتصب بكونه مفعولا ، وذلك محال ، لأن كونه مفعولا يوجب ان يكون أكرمت عاملا فيه النصب ... كما أن الذي أوجب نصب زيد في قولك " أكرمت زيدا " وقوع الفعل عليه .
٢٧. الزجاجي ، الايضاح ، ص ٦٤ .
27. Zajjāji Id: 64
لأنها وأخواتها ضارعت الفعل المتعدى الى مفعول ، فحملت عليه فأعملت اعماله لما ضارعته .
٢٨. الاستربادي ، شرح الكافية ، ج^١ .
28. Ast SK I: 23
فاذا اثبت ان العامل في الاسم ما يحصل بوساطته في ذلك الاسم المعنى المفتى للاعراب .
٢٩. سيويه ، ج^١ ، ص ١٧٠ .
29. Sīb I: 170
وعمل فيها ما قبلها ... كما عمل في الدرهم عشرون اذا قلت عشرون درهما .
٣٠. الفارسي ، المسائل العسريات ، ص ٢١٤ .
30. Fārisī Ask: 214
الذي توجهه الحقيقة أن المتكلم يرفع زيدا بلسانه لمعنى وعلية .
٣١. Ast SK I: 21
31. Ast SK I: 21
ثم أعلم أن محدث هذه المعاني في كل اسم هو المتكلم وكذا محدث علاماتها لكنه نسب أحداث هذه العلامات الى اللفظ الذي بواسطته قامت هذه المعاني بالاسم فسمى عاملا لكونه كالسبب للعلامة كما أنه كالسبب للمعنى المعلم فقبل العامل في الفاعل هو الفعل لأنه به صار احد جزئي الكلام .
٣٢. الزجاجي ، الايضاح ، ص ٦٩ .
32. Zajjāji Id: 69
الاسماء لما كانت تعنورها المعاني ، فتكون فاعلة ومفعولة ، ومضافة ومضافا اليها ، ولم تكن في صورها وأبنيتها أدلة على هذه المعاني بل كانت مشتركة ، جعلت حركات الاعراب فيها تنبيه عن هذه المعاني .
٣٣. المبرد ، ج^٤ ، ص ٢٤٨ .
33. Mub IV: 248
الا ترى ان قولك : قمت (التاء) في موضع زيد اذا قلت : قام زيد ، وكذلك ضربتك (الكاف) في موضع زيدا اذا قلت : ضربت زيدا .
٣٤. المبرد ، ج^٣ ، ص ١٧٢ .
34. Mub III: 172
اعلم ان الدليل على ان ما ذكرنا اسما ، وقوعها في مواضع الاسماء .
٣٥. Saymarī 504
35. Saymarī 504
الا ترى أننا نستدل على اعراب (سائر) المضمرات باعراب المظهرات التي تقع موقعها فنقول : موضع الكاف من " ضربتك " نصب ، لأنك لو ذكرت فسي موضعها ما يتبين فيه الاعراب لم يكن الا نصبا ، كقولك : ضربت زيدا ، وكذلك التاء في " قمت " في موضع رفع ، لأنك لو ذكرت في موضعها اسما يتبين فيه الاعراب لم يكن الا رفعا كقولك قام زيد .

٣٦. ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج١ ، ص ١٣٢ . 36. Ibn Jinnî Khaṣ I: 132
ونحن نرى العامل غير مؤثر في المبني ، نحو " من أين أقبلت " و " الى أين تذهب ، فإذا كان حرف الجر على قوته لا يؤثر في حركة البناء .
٣٧. ابو بكر الأنباري ، ص ١٠ . 37. Abû Bakr il-'Anbârî 10
ويكشف لك أنهم محولات عن الأدوات سقوط الاعراب عنهم ، اذ العوامل لا تؤثر فيهن أشرا .
٣٨. السراج ، ج٢ ، ص ٦٢ . 38. IS II: 62
فان كان الاسم معربا مفردا ، فلا يجوز أن يكون له موضع ، لأننا انما نعترف بالموضع اذا لم يظهر في اللفظ الاعراب ، فإذا ظهر الاعراب فلا مطلوب .
٣٩. السراج ، الموجز ، ص ٤٣ . 39. IS Mûjaz: 43
فإن زدت على العشرة شيئا ، جعل مع الأول اسما واحدا وبني على الفتح وجعل في موضع عدد فيه نون وذلك : أحد عشر درهما ، يدلك على أن عشر قد قامت مقام التنوين قولهم : اثنا عشر .
٤٠. ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج٢ ، ص ٢٧٦ . 40. IJ Khaṣ II: 276
وذلك أن (هل) تنوب عن (أستفهم) ، و (ما) تنوب عن (أنفسي) و(إلا) تنوب عن (أستثنى) وتلك الأفعال النائية عنها هذه الحروف هي النائية في الأصل .
٤١. سيبويه ، ج١ ، ص ١٨٦ . 41. Sîbawaih I: 186
هذا باب المبدل من المبدل منه والمبدل يشرك المبدل منه في الجر وذلك قولك مررت برجل حمار .
٤٢. السراج ، ج٢ ، ص ٦٩ . 42. IS II: 69
قولك : ضربت الذي في الدار وزيدا ، عطفت على ، الذي من صلتها ، ولو عطفت على الذي مفردا ، لم يجز .
٤٣. السراج ، ج٢ ، ص ٢٣٢ . 43. IS II: 232
فلو قلت : " الذي ضرب زيدا عمرو " فأردت أن تقدم زيدا على " الذي " لم يجز ، ولا يصلح أن تقدم شيئا في الصلة ظرفا كان أو غيره على " الذي " البتة .
٤٤. السراج ، ج٢ ، ص ٢٣٣ . 44. IS II: 233
وكل ما كان في صلة شيء من اسم او فعل مما لا يتم الا به فلا يجوز ان تفصل بينه وبين صلتة بشيء غريب منه .
٤٥. سيبويه ، ج١ ، ص ١٦٤ . 45. Sîb I: 164
قلت عشرون درهما فعملت كم في الدرهم عمل العشرين في الدرهم ولك مبنية على كم .
٤٦. السراج ، ج٢ ، ص ٦٣ . 46. IS II: 63
اعلم ان الجمل على ضربين ضرب لا موضع له وضرب له موضع . فأما الجملة التي لا موضع لها ، فكل جملة ابتدأتها ، فلا موضع لها نحو قولك : مبتدأ : زيد في الدار ، وعمرو عندك ، فهذه لا موضع لها .
الضرب الثاني : الجملة موقع اسم مفرد نحو قولك : زيد ابوه قائم ، فأبوه قائم جملة موضعها رفع ، لأنك لو جعلت موضعها اسما مفردا نحو : منطلق لصلح وكنت تقول : زيد منطلق .

٤٧. ابن فارس، ص ٨٧. ٤٧. Ibn Fāris 87
 زعم قوم أن الكلام ما سمع وفهم ، وذلك قولنا : قام زيد وذهب عمرو. وقال قوم : الكلام حروف مؤلفة دالة على معنى .
 والقولان عندنا متقاربان ، لأن المسموع المفهوم لا يكاد يكون إلا بحروف مؤلفة تدل على معنى .
٤٨. ابن فارس، ص ٨٧. 48. Ibn Fāris 87
 وقال لي بعض فقهاء بغداد : إن الكلام على ضربين مهمل ومستعمل . قال : فالمهمل هو الذي لم يوضع للفائدة ، والمستعمل ما وضع ليفيد . فأعلمته أن هذا كلام غير صحيح .
٤٩. ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج ١ ، ص ٢٦. 49. IJ Khaṣṣ I: 26
 أنا نقول : لا محالة أن الكلام مختص بالجمل ، ونقول مع هذا : إنه جنس أي جنس للجمل .
٥٠. الزمخشري ، ص ٦. 50. Zam 6
 الكلمة هي اللفظة الدالة على معنى مفرد بالوضع .
 والكلام هو المركب من كلمتين أسندت أحدهما إلى الأخرى وذاك لا يتأتى إلا في اسمين كقولك زيد أخوك وبشر صاحبك أو في فعل واسم نحو قولك ضرب زيد .
٥١. الاستربادي ، شرح الكافية ، ج ١ ، ص ٣. 51. Ast SK I: 3
 واللفظ خاص بما يخرج من الفم .
٥٢. ابن يعيش ، ج ١ ، ص ١٩. 52. IY I: 19
 ومن الألفاظ ما قد تكون دالة على معنى بالطبع لا بالوضع وذلك كقولك النائم أخ ... فهذه الألفاظ لأنها مركبة من حروف ملفوظ بها ، ولا يقال لها كلم لأن دلالتها لم تكن بالتواضع والاصطلاح .
٥٣. بطلوسي ، الانصاف ، ص ٤١. 53. Bat Inṣāf: 41
 والعرب تحمل الكلام تارة على اللفظ ، وتارة على المعنى .
٥٤. ابن جنى ، الخصائص . 54. IJ Khaṣṣ
 ذلك أنك تسلك طريق صنعة اللفظ فاختلف السمة ... فقد ترى إلى سعة طريق اللفظ وضيق طريق المعنى .
٥٥. ابن هشام ، مغنى اللبيب ، ص ٧٨٩. 55. IH ML: 789
 إن دليل الحذف نوعان ، (أحدهما) : غير صناعي ، وينقسم إلى حالى ومقالى كما تقدم ، و (الثاني) : صناعي ، وهذا يختص بمعرفة النحويين لأنه إنما عرف من جهة الصناعة .
٥٦. ابن سينا ، الاسياب ، ص ٦٠. 56. Ibn Sīnā 'Asbāb: 60
 والحرف هيئة للصوت عارضة له يتميز بها عن صوت آخر مثله في الحدة والثقل تميزا في المسموع .
- الاسياب ، ص ٥٦. 56. Ibn Sīnā : 56
 الصوت سببه القريب موج الهواء دفعة بسرعة وبقوة من أي سبب كان .
٥٧. ابن جنى ، المنصف ، ج ١ ، ص ٢. 57. IJ Mun I: 2
 وبه تعرف أصول كلام العرب من الزوائد الداخلة عليها .
٥٨. ابن جنى ، المنصف ، ج ١ ، ص ٢. 58. IJ Mun I: 2
 إن المصدر من الماضي إذا كان على مثال أفعل يكون مفعلا بضم الميم وفتح العين نحو : أدخلته مدخلا ، وأخرجته مخرجا ، ألا ترى أنك لو أردت المصدر ممن أكرمته على هذا الحد لقلت مكرما قياسا ، ولم تحتج فيه إلى السماع .

٥٩. الانباري ، الانصاف ، ص ٣٤ .
فلما زِيدت بمعنى التثنية والجمع صارت من تمام صيغة الكلمة التي وضعت لذلك المعنى .
٦٠. ابن يعيش ، ج^١ ، ص ١٩ .
واللام فإنه يدل على معنيين التعريف والمعرف وهو من جهة النطق لفظة واحدة وكلمتان اذا كان مركبا من الألف واللام الدالة على التعريف فهي كلمة لأنها حرف معنى والمعرف كلمة أخرى .
٦١. ابن يعيش ، ج^١ ، ص ١٩ .
ضربا وضربوا ونحوها فإن كل واحد من ذلك لفظة وفي الحكم كلمتان الفعل كـلمة والألف والواو كلمة لأنها تفيد المسند اليه .
٦٢. ابن يعيش ، ج^١ ، ص ١٩ .
فلو سميت بضربا وضربوا كان كلمة واحدة لأنك لو افردت الألف والواو لم تدل على جزء من المسمى كما كانت قبل التسمية .
٦٣. استربادي شرح الكافية ، ج^١ ، ص ٥ .
ان قيل في قولك مسلمان ومسلمون وبصري وجميع الأفعال المضارعة جزء لفظ كل واحد منها يدل على جزء معناه ان الواو تدل على الجمعية والألف على التثنية والياء على النسبة وحروف المضارعة على معنى في المضارع وعلى حال الفاعل ايضا وكذا ثاء التانيث في قائمة والتثنية والام التعريف والفاء التانيث فيجيب ان يكون لفظ كل واحد منها مركبا وكذا المعنى فلا يكون كلمة بل كلمتين .
٦٤. الاستربادي ، شرح الكافية ، ج^١ ، ص ٥٥ .
فالجواب ان جميع ما ذكرت كلمتان صارتا من شدة الامتزاج ككلمة واحدة .
٦٥. الاستربادي ، شرح الكافية ، ج^١ ، ص ٥٦ .
اما الفعل الماضي نحو ضرب فيه نظر لأنه كلمة بلا خلاف مع أن الحدث مدلول حروفه المرتبة والخبار عن حصول ذلك الحدث في الزمن الماضي مدلول وزنه الطارئ على حروفه والوزن جزء اللفظ اذ هو عبارة عن عدد الحروف مع مجموع الحركات والسكنات الموضوعة وضعا معيناً والحركات مما يتلفظ به فهو اذن كلمة مركبة من جزئين يدل كل واحد منهما على جزء معناه وكذا نحو اسد في جمع اسد وكذا المصغر ونحو رجال ومساجد ونحو ضارب ومضروب ومضرب لأن الدال على معنى التصفير والجمع والفاعل والمفعول والآلة في الأمثلة المذكورة الحركات الطارئة مع الحرف الزائد ولا يصح ان ندعى ههنا ان الوزن الطارئ كلمة صارت بالتركيب كجزء كلمة كما ادعينا في الكلم المتقدمة وكما يصح ان يدعى في الحركات الاعرابية فالاعتراض بهذه الكلم اعتراض وارد الا ان نفيد تفسير اللفظ المركب فنقول هو ما يدل جزؤه على جزء معناه واحد الجزئين متعقب للآخر وفي هذه الكلمة المذكورة الجزآن مسموعان معا .
٦٦. ابن جنى ، المنصف ، ج^١ ، ص ١٠٤ .
انما قضى بزيادة النون والتاء في " نرجس ، وترتب ، لأنهما لم يقعوا موقع حرف من الأصل ، كما قضى بزيادة النون من " كنهيل ، لأنه ليس في الكلام مثل " سفرجل ، بضم الجيم .
٦٧. ابن جنى ، المنصف ، ج^١ ، ص ١٠٠ .
أن حمل الهمزة على الزيادة أولى من حمل الياء عليها ، وذلك ان زيادة الهمزة في أول الكلمة أكثر وأوسع من زيادة الياء ثانية ، ألا ترى ان باب " أحمر وأصفر ، أكثر من باب " خيفق وصيرف " ؟ فهذا الدليل ثبت زيادة الهمزة في أيدع .

٦٨. ابن يعيش ، شرح الملوكي ، ص ٩٥ .
لم يكن بد من لفظ خاص يدل على ذلك المعنى بعينه . فلهذا وجب التصريف واختلاف الأبنية بالزيادة والنقص والتغيير ونحو ذلك ليدل كل لفظ على المعنى المراد .
٦٩. ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج ٢ ، ص ٤٨١ .
ألا ترى أنك لا تستفيد فهمزة أفعول وواوه معنى مخصوصا ، كما تستفيد بميم مفعول وواوه معنى مخصوصا ، وهو افادة اسم المفعول .
٧٠. ابن فارس ، الصحاحي ، ص ٩٢ .
" الاسم ما كان مستقرا على المسمى وقت ذكره إياه ولازما له " .
٧١. ابن جنى ، اللمع ، ص ٩١ .
والحرف : ما لم تحسن فيه علامات الأسماء ، ولا علامات الأفعال ، وإنما جاء لمعنى في غيره .
٧٢. الزجاجي ، الإيضاح ، ص ٤٨ .
الاسم في كلام العرب ما كان فاعلا أو مفعولا أو واقعا في حيز الفاعل والمفعول به . هذا الحد داخل في مقاييس النحو أوضاعه ، وليس يخرج عنه اسم البتة ، ولا يدخل فيه ما ليس باسم .
٧٣. الفارسي ، الإيضاح ، ص ٧٦ .
وأما الفعل فما كان مستندا الى شيء ولم يسند اليه شيء ، مثال ذلكـــــــــــــــــ خرج عبدالله ، وينطلق بكر .
٧٤. الزجاجي ، الإيضاح ، ص ٥٢ - ٥٣ .
الفعل على أوضاع النحويين ، ما دل على حدث ، وزمان ماض أو مستقبل نحو قام يقوم .
٧٥. سيبويه ، ج ١ ، ص ١٧٠ .
هذا باب ما ينتصب من الأماكن والوقت وذلك لأنها ظروف تقع فيها الأشياء .
٧٦. ابن جنى ، اللمع ، ص ١٣٨ .
واعلم أن الظرف كل اسم من أسماء الزمان أو المكان يراد فيه معنى " فـيـ " وليست في لفظة ، كقولك : قمت اليوم ، وجلست مكانك ، لأن معناه : قمت في اليوم ، وجلست في مكانك ، فإن ظهرت " في " في اللفظ كان ما بعدها اسما صريحا .
٧٧. المبرد ، ج ٤ ، ص ٣٤٨ .
ومما لا يجوز ان يكون ظرفا : ناحية الدار ، وجوف الدار ، لأنها بمنزلة اليد والرجل . فكما لا تقول : زيد الدار ، لا تقول : زيد جوف الدار حتى تقول في جوفها .
٧٨. سيبويه ، ج ١ ، ص ١٧٧ .
وهذه (i.e. nouns like *khalf*, *taht*) الظروف أسماء ولكنها صارت مواضع للأشياء .
٧٩. المبرد ، ج ٤ ، ص ٣٤٢ .
وكل ما كان معه حرف خفض فقد خرج من معنى الظرف ، وصار اسما صح كقولك : سرت في وسط الدار ، لأن التضمن لـ " في " .
68. IY SM: 90
69. IJ Khaṣ II: 481
70. Ibn Fāris ṣāḥibī: 92
71. IJ Luma^C: 91
72. Zajjājī Id: 48
73. Fārisī Id: 76
74. Zajjājī Id: 52, 53
75. Sīb I: 170
76. IJ Luma^C: 138
77. Mub IV: 348
78. Sīb I: 177
79. Mub IV: 342

٨٠. ابن السراج ، ج^١ ، ص ١٤٩ .
لما ذهبت النون عاقبتها الاضافة والمعنى ثبات النون .
٨١. ابن السراج ، ج^١ ، ص ١٥٣ .
فكما تثبت النون مع الألف واللام كذلك تثبت الاضافة مع الألف واللام .
٨٢. الانباري ، الانصاف ، ص ١٤٢ .
٨٢. Anbārī In: 142
ألا ترى أن اسم الفاعل محمول على الفعل في العمل ، ولم يخرج بذلك عن كونه اسما ، وكذلك الفعل المضارع محمول على الاسم في الاعراب ، ولم يخرج بذلك عن كونه فعلا ، فكذلك تصغيرهم فعل التعجب تشبيها بالاسم لا يخرجهم عن كونه فعلا .
٨٣. ابن عقيل ، ج^٢ ، ص ١٩٠ .
٨٣. IA II: 190
التابع هو : الاسم المشارك لما قبله في اعرابه مطلقا .
٨٤. الاستربادي ، شرح الكافية ، ج^١ ، ص ٨ .
٨٤. Ast SK
احترز بقوله (i.e. Ibn Hājib's) بالاسناد عن بعض ما ركب من اسمين كالمضاف والمضاف اليه والتابع والمتبوع .
٨٥. المبرد ، ج^٤ ، ص ١٤٣ .
٨٥. Mub IV: 143
فإذا اضفت اسما مفردا الى اسم مثله مفرد أو مضاف - صار الثاني من تمام الأول ، وصار جميعا اسما واحدا .
٨٦. الزجاجي ، الايضاح ، ص ١١٠ .
٨٦. Zajjājī Tq: 110
... لأن المضاف اليه يقوم مقام التنوين .
٨٧. الانباري ، الأسرار ، ص ٢٩٥ .
٨٧. Anbārī As: 295
" مررت بزید الظريف " كان العامل فيه : الباء ، هذا مذهب سيبويه ، وذهب أبو الحسن الأخفش الى أن كونه ... صفة لمجرور أوجب له الجر .
٨٨. سيبويه ، ج^١ ، ص ١٧٧ .
٨٨. Sīb I: 177
فصار التعت مجرورا مثل المنعوت لأنهما كالاسم الواحد .
٨٩. ابن هشام ، قطر الندى ، ص ٢٨٣ .
٨٩. IH QN: 283
التوابع عبارة عن الكلمات التي لا يمسها الاعراب الا على سبيل التبع لغيرها .
٩٠. الجرجاني ، المقتصد ، ص ٣٠٥ .
٩٠. Jurjānī Muqt: 305
لا يكون المعمول موضع يختص به دون العامل كما في ذلك من تفضل التابع على المتبوع .
٩١. ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج^٢ ، ص ١٥٩ .
٩١. IJ Khas II: 159
اختصاص العامل بالموصوف ثم الصفة من بعد تابعة له .
٩٢. المبرد ، ج^٤ ، ص ٢٩٩ .
٩٢. Mub IV: 299
فإذا قلت : ضربت زيدا ، أو كلمت عمرا ، فأنت لم تفعل زيدا ولا عمرا ، انما فعلت الضرب والكلام ، فأوقعت الضرب بزید ، وأوصلت الكلام الى عمرو . فزيد وعمرو مفعول بهما ، لأنك فعلت فعلا أوقعته بهما ، وأوصلته اليهما .
٩٣. ابن السراج ، ج^١ ، ص ٢٠٢ .
٩٣. IS I: 202
قد تقدم قولنا في المفعول على الحقيقة أنه المصدر ، ولما كانت هذه تكون على ضربين : ضرب فيها يلاقي شيئا ويؤثر فيه ، وضرب منه لا يلاقي شيئا ولا يؤثر فيه ، فسمى الفعل الملاقي متعديا وما لا يلاقي غير متعد .

٩٤. IS I: 203 ابن السراج ، ج١ ، ص ٢٠٣ .
حركة الجسم اذا لاقت شيئا كان من ذلك الفعل متعديا نحو : اتيت زيدا .
٩٥. Sîb I: 16 سيبويه ، ج١ ، ص ١٦ .
ولو كان هذا الحال بمنزلة الثوب وزيد في كسوت لما جاز ذهب راكبا لأنه لا يتعدى الى مفعول كزيد وعمرو وانما جاز هذا لأنه حال وليس معناه كمعنى الثوب وزيد فعل كعمل غير الفعل .
٩٦. Sîb I: 15 سيبويه ، ج١ ، ص ١٥ .
هذا باب ما يعمل فيه الفعل فينتصب .
٩٧. Sîb I: 10 سيبويه ، ج١ ، ص ١٠ .
والمفعول الذي لم يتعد اليه فعل فاعل ولا تعدى فعله الى مفعول آخر .
٩٨. Sîb I: 10 سيبويه ، ج١ ، ص ١٠ .
هذا باب الفاعل الذي يتعداه فعله الى مفعول .
٩٩. Mub IV: 395 المبرد ، ج٤ ، ص ٣٩٥ .
علم ان كل فعل متعدى ، او لم يتعد - فانه متعد الى ثلاثة أشياء :
الى المصدر ... الزمان ... والمكان .
١٠٠. Mub III: 116 المبرد ، ج٣ ، ص ١١٦ .
فاذا قلت : ضرب عبدالله زيدا ، فان شئت قلت : ضرب عبدالله ، فعرفتني أنه قد كان منه ضرب ، فصار بمنزلة : قام عبدالله ، الا أنك تعلم ان الضرب قد تعدى الى مضروب ، وأن قولك : (قام) لم يتعد فاعله ، فان قلت : ضرب عبدالله زيدا - أعلمتني من ذلك المفعول ؟ وقد علمت أن ذلك الضرب لا بد من أن يكون وقع في مكان وزمان ، فان قلت : (عندك) أوضحت المكان ، فـكان قلت : (يوم الجمعة) بينت الوقت ، وقد علمت أن لك حالا ، وللمفعول حسالا . فان قلت : (قائما) عرفتني الحال منك أو منه ، فان قلت : (قاعدا) أنبت عن حاله أو حاله .
١٠١. Jurjânî Dal: 118, 119-١١٨-١١٩ دلائل الاعجاز ، ص ١١٩-١١٨-١١٩ .
واذا قد عرفت هذه الجملة فاعلم ان أغراض الناس تختلف في ذكر الأفعـال المتعدية فهم يذكرونها تارة ومرادهم ان يقتصروا على اثبات المعاني التي اشتقت منها للفاعلين من غير ان يتعرضوا لذكر المفعولين ، فاذا كان الأمر كذلك كان الفعل المتعدى كغير المتعدى مثلا في انك لا ترى له مفعولا لا لفظا ولا تقديرا .
وقسم ثان وهو ان يكون له مفعول مقصود قصده معلوم الا انه يحذف من اللفظ لدليل الحال عليه .
١٠٢. IJ Khaṣ I: 106 ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج١ ، ص ١٠٦ .
فكما ان همزة أفعال مصوغة فيه ، كائنة من جملته ، فكذلك ما عاقبها من حروف الجر ينبغي ان يعتد أيضا من جملة الفعل ، لمعاقبته ما هو من جملته ، فهذا وجه .
١٠٣. Anbârî As: 86, 87 الانباري ، الأسرار ، ص ٨٦ - ٨٧ .
كل واحد من هذه الأشياء الثلاثة المعدية ، التي هي : الهمزة ، والتضعيف ، وحرف الجر ، كما انها تنقل الفعل اللازم من اللزوم الى التعدى ، فكذلك اذا دخلت على الفعل المتعدى ، فانما تزيده مفعولا ، وان كان يتعدى الى مفعول واحد ، صار يتعدى الى مفعولين ... وان كان متعديا الى مفعولين صار متعديا الى ثلاثة مفعولين .

١٠٤. السيرافي ، ص ١٨٤ .
وأما أفعلت الشيء فمطاوعة هو الفعل الذي دخل عليه أفعلت كقولك : " أدخلته فدخل وأخرجته فخرج " .
١٠٥. المبرد ، ج٤ ، ص ٥٠ .
فلما لم يكن للفعل من الفاعل بد ، وكنتها هنا قد حذفته - اقامت المفعول مكانه ، ليصح الفعل بما قام مقام فاعله .
١٠٦. المبرد ، ج٤ ، ص ٥٢ .
وجائز ان تقيم المجرور مع المصدر والظروف مقام الفاعل ، فتقول : سير يزيد فرسخا ... فهذا ... الموضع (إذا) نصبت المصادر والظروف على مواضعها ، فلم تجعلها مفعولات على السعة .
١٠٧. الفارسي ، الايضاح ، ص ٣٤٨ .
فالنقل بالهمزة عكس بناء الفعل للمفعول به . لأن بناء الفعل للمفعول به ينقص معه مفعول . ألا ترى أن قولنا : ضربت زيدا ، إذا بنيته للمفعول به قلت : ضرب زيد ، فلم يتعد الى مفعول به ، واعطيت زيدا درهما ، إذا بنيته للمفعول به ، قلت : اعطي زيد درهما ، فينقص أحد المفعولين والنقل بالهمزة في المتعدي يزيد معه مفعول كما تقدم .
١٠٨. ابن جنى ، المنصف ، ج١ ، ص ٢٣ - ٢٤ .
وأما الفعل المبني للمجهول ، فعلى مثال واحد وهو " فعل " نحو : " ضرب وقيل " ، وهذا أصله " فعل أو فعل " ثم نقل فجعل حديثا عن المفعول ألا ترى أن " ضرب منقول من ضرب ، وركب منقول من ركب " ، ولا يكون فعل منقولاً من فعل أبداً ، لأن فعل لا يتعدي ، والفعل لا ينقل الى فعل حتى يكون متعدياً قبل النقل .
١٠٩. البطلوسي ، ص ٢١١ .
فدخل هذا على ان باب المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله اصل قائم بنفسه .
١١٠. ابن يعيش ، ج٣ ، ص ٦٩ .
لا بد فيه (i.e. passivization) من عمل ثلاثة أشياء : حذف الفاعل واقامة المفعول مقامه وتغيير الفعل الى صيغة فعل .
١١١. ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج٢ ، ص ٣٦٠ .
قد حذف العرب الجملة ، والمفرد ، والحرف ، والحركة . وليس شيء من ذلك الا عن دليل عليه والا كان فيه ضرب من تكليف علم الغيب في معرفته .
١١٢. ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج٢ ، ص ٣٦٦ .
ومما يؤكد عندك ضعف حذف الموصوف واقامة الصفة مقامه أنك تجد من الصفات ما لا يمكن حذف موصوفه ، وذلك أن تكون الصفة جملة ، نحو مررت برجل قام أخوه ، ولقيت غلاماً وجهه حسن . ألا تراك لو قلت : مررت بقام أخوه ، أو لقيت وجهه حسن لم يحسن .
١١٣. ابن السراج ، ج٢ ، ص ٢٦٥ .
أعلم ان الاتساع ضرب من الحذف الا أن الفرق بين هذا الباب والباب الذي قبله أن هذا تقيمه مقام المحذوف وتعربه بأعرابه وذلك الباب تحذف العامل فيـه وتُدع ما عمل فيه على حاله في الأعراب .

١١٤. الاستريادي ، شرح الكافية ، ج١ ، ص ١٠٩ . 114. Ast SK I: 109
الأصل في رفع الأسماء الفاعل وفي نصبها المفعول لم يكن له بد من ان يدعى
ان كل مرفوع او منصوب غيرهما فهما مشبهان بهما من وجه .
١١٥. الزجاجي ، الجمل ، ص ٣٥ . 115. Zajjâzî Jumal: 35
وإن اشتغل عنه الفعل تنصبه بفعل مضمّر يدل عليه هذا الظاهر ، فتقول:
"زيدا ضربته " ، والتقدير : " ضربت زيدا ضربته " ، ولكنه لا يظهر .
١١٦. الانباري ، الأسرار ، ص ٧٠ . 116. Anbârî As: 70
اسم الفاعل أضعف من الفعل في العمل لأنه فرع عليه .
١١٧. الصيمري ، ص ٩٧ - ٩٨ . 117. Şaymarî 97, 98
وأعلم أن النكرة قبل المعرفة ، لأن كل معرفة فانما هي منقولة من الأصل الى
الوضع على واحد بعينه ، أو معرفة بعلامة لم تكن في الأصل ، ألا ترى أن
الألف واللام زائدتان في الأسم ؟ .
١١٨. الصيمري ، ص ٤٦٧ . 118. Şaymarî 467
فأما الألف : فهي أصل حروف الاستفهام ، والدليل على ذلك أنها لا تخرج من
الاستفهام الى غيره .
١١٩. الزجاجي ، الايضاح ، ص ٧٧ . 119. Zajjâzî Id: 77
فكل اسم رأيته معربا فهو على أصله ، وكل اسم رأيته غير معرب فهو خارج
عن أصله ، وكل فعل رأيته فهو على أصله . وكل فعل رأيته معربا فقد خرج
عن أصله والحروف كلها مبنية على أصولها .
١٢٠. البطلوسي ، الانصاف ، ص ١٠٧ . 120. Bat İnşâf: 107
فمتى وجدت شيئا قد خالف أصله فانما ذلك لسبب وغرض ، فيجب لك ان تبحث
عليه .
١٢١. الزجاج ، ما ينصرف ... ، ص ٥ . 121. Zajjâz Mâ Yanşarifu...: 5
إذا اجتمع منها (i.e. marked categories, *furûc*) شيان في الأسم
منعها الصرف .
١٢٢. السراج ، الموجز ، ص ١١٣ . 122. IS Mûjaz: 113
أعلم أن حق الصفة أن تكون كالفعل ، تجمع في المذكر وما يعقل منه بالواو
والنون وفي المونث بالالف والتاء ، ولا يحرك الأوسط - والتكسير انما بابسه
الاسماء - الا أن ما كسر منها فانما كسر لمشاركتة الأسماء .
١٢٣. الجرجاني ، المقتصد ، ص ١٠٣٥ . 123. Jurjânî Muqt: 1035
"باب الاسمين اللذين يجعلان اسما واحدا .
حكم هذا الباب أن لا يصرف في المعرفة وينصرف في النكرة ...
وذلك نحو حضرموت ويعلبك وقالى قلا ومعدى كرب .
١٢٤. الأخفش ، ج١ ، ص ٢٣ . 124. Akhfash I: 23
وكل شيئين جعلنا اسما لم يصرفا .
١٢٥. المبرد ، ج١ ، ص ٢٥٦ . 125. Mub I: 256
يقولون : الأسماء أمكن من الأفعال ، فلذلك كان لها على الأفعال فضيلة
تمكنها ، وأن الأفعال تبع لها .
فقلنا في تفسير قول هو٤٤ : الدليل على صحة ما قالوا أن الأسماء الثلاثية
تكون على ضروب من الأبنية تلحقها أبنية الأفعال ، لأن أبنية الأفعال انما
هي : فعل ، وفعل ، وفعل ومضارعاتها : يفعل ، ويفعل ، ويفعل .
والأسماء تكون على (فعل) ، نحو : جمل وجبل ، وعلى (فعل) ، نحو : فخذ
وكتف ، وعلى (فعل) ، نحو : رجل وعضد .

وتكون الاسماء مفردة (بفعل)، نحو : ضلع وعوض ، و(بفعل) نحو : حضض ، وعنق ، وتكون سواكن الأوساط ، نحو : فهد ، وكلب ، ونحو : جذع ، وعدل ، ونحو : برد ، وخرج .

١٢٦. الزجاج ، ما ينصرف ٠٠٠ ص ٨٨ . 126. Zajjāj Mā Yanṣarifu: 88
وكان الأصل في كل مستفهم عنه ان يجاب ب " نعم " أو " لا " ، فكان الأصل في قولك " متى تخرج ؟ " ان تقول " اخرج اليوم ؟ " فيكون الجواب : " نعم " أو " لا " فإذا قال " لا " وجب أن تسأله عن الزمان ابداً حتى تقول " نعم " فنقول " اخرج يوم الجمعة ؟ " اخرج يوم السبت ؟ " فجعلت " متى " ينصب جوابها عن وجوب الخروج في وقت بعينه .

١٢٧. الزمخشري ، ص ٢٦٣ . 127. Zam 263
يدخلن دخول أفعال القلوب على المبتدأ والخبر الا انهن يرفعن المبتدأ وينصبن الخبر .

١٢٨. الصيمري ، ص ١١٩ . 128. Şaymarî 119
ومعنى النقل : أن تدخل في أول الفعل الثلاثي همزة فتنقله من " فعل " إلى " أفعل " فان نقلت " فعل " مما لا يتعدى إلى " أفعل " تعدى إلى مفعول واحد ، نحو قام زيد ، وأقامت زيدا .

١٢٩. السراج ، الموجز ، ص ١٦٢ . 129. IS Mûjaz: 162
واعلم أن جميع هذه دخلت عليها الزوائد ، فهي على علتها ، تقول : قِام ثم تقول : أقام أقمت واستقام .

١٣٠. ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج ١ ، ص ١٥٠ . 130. IJ Khaṣ I: 150
فالمعنى إذا هو المكرم المخدوم ، واللفظ هو المبتذل الخادم .

١٣١. الانباري ، الأسرار ، ص ٢٤ . 131. Anbârî As: 24
الاسماء تتضمن معاني مختلفة نحو الفاعلية ، والمفعولية والاضافة ، فلو لم تعرب لالتبست هذه المعاني بعضها ببعض .

١٣٢. ابن السراج ، ج ٢ ، ص ٦٥ . 132. IS II: 65
فالفرق بين العطف على الموضع والعطف على اللفظ أن المعطوف على اللفظ كالشيء يعمل فيها عامل واحد لانهما كاسم واحد ، والمعطوف على المعنى يعمل فيها عاملان .

١٣٣. المبرد ، ج ٤ ، ص ٣٣٦ . 133. Mub IV: 336
هذه مواضع مخصوصة ليس في الفعل عليها دليل .

١٣٤. ابن هشام ، مغنى اللبيب ، ص ٨٨٤ . 134. IH ML: 884
قد يعطى الشيء حكم ما أشبهه : في معناه ، أو في لفظه ، أو فيهما .

١٣٥. ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج ٢ ، ص ٣١٠ . 135. IJ Khaṣ II: 310
لما كان رفث بالمرأة في معنى أفضى اليها جاز أن يتبع الرفث الحرف الذي بابها الافضاء ، وهو (الى) .

١٣٦. ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج ١ ، ص ١٨٥ . 136. IJ Khaṣ I: 185
الفاعل عند أهل العربية ليس كل من كان فاعلاً في المعنى ، وأن الفاعل عندهم انما هو كل اسم ذكرته بعد الفعل وأسندت ونسبت ذلك الفعل الى ذلك الاسم .

١٣٧. الانباري ، الأسرار ، ص ١٩٨ . 137. Anbârî As: 198
فانك اذا قلت " تصيب زيد عرقاً " لم يكن " زيد " هو الفاعل في المعنى ، وكان الفاعل في المعنى هو " العرق " .

138. IS II: 128 ١٣٨ ابن السراج ، ج٢ ، ص ١٢٨ .
ومعنى الفصل انهن يدخلن زوائد على المبتدأ المعرفة وخبره ، وما كان بمنزلة
الابتداء والخبر .
139. Anbârî As: 279 ١٣٩ الانباري ، الأسرار ، ص ٢٧٩ .
وحذف حرف الجر ، قام المضاف مقامه ، فعمل في المضاف اليه الجر كما يعمل حرف
الجر .
140. IY II: 117 ١٤٠ ابن يعيش ، ج٢ ، ص ١١٧ .
" أما المقدر فنحو غلام زيد وخاتم فضة " فالعامل هنا حرف الجر المقدر
والتأشير له وتقديره غلام لزيد وخاتم من فضة لا ينفك كل اضافة حقيقية من
تقدير أحد هذين الحرفين ولولا تقدير وجود الحرف المذكور لما ساغ الجر الا
تري أن كل واحد من المضاف والمضاف اليه اسم ليس له أن يعمل في الآخر لأنه
ليس عمله في أحدهما بأولى من العكس وانما الخفض في المضاف اليه بالحرف
المقدر الذي هو اللام او من .
141. IJ Khaṣ II: 155 ١٤١ ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج٢ ، ص ١٥٥ .
انهم جعلوا تكرير العين في المثال دليلا على تكرير الفعل ، فقالوا : كَسَر ،
وقطع ، وفتح ، وغلق .
142. Mub IV: 352 ١٤٢ المبرد ، ج٤ ، ص ٣٥٢ .
تقول : قام زيد . فان قيل لك : أخبر عن (زيد) فانما يقال لك : اجعل
زيدا خبرا ، واجعل هذا الفعل في صلة الاسم الذي زيد خبره . فان خبرت عنه
ب (الذي) قلت : الذي قام زيد .
143. Jurjânî Dal: 45 ١٤٣ الجرجاني ، دلائل الاعجاز ، ص ٤٥ .
وأن الكلم تترتب في النطق ، بسبب ترتب معانيها في النفس .
144. Jurjânî Dal: 301 ١٤٤ الجرجاني ، دلائل الاعجاز ، ص ٣٠١ .
ان الفصاحة لا تظهر في أفراد الكلمات وانما تظهر بالضم على طريقة مخصوصة .
145. Jurjânî Dal: 316 ١٤٥ الجرجاني ، دلائل الاعجاز ، ص ٣١٦ .
فانك تحصل من مجموع هذه الكلم كلها على مفهوم هو معنى واحد لا عدة معان
كما يتوهمه الناس .
146. Jurjânî Dal: 282 ١٤٦ الجرجاني ، دلائل الاعجاز ، ص ٢٨٢ .
لا معنى للنظم غير توخى معاني النحو .
147. Jurjânî Dal: 202 ١٤٧ الجرجاني ، دلائل الاعجاز ، ص ٢٠٢ .
الكلام على ضربين : ضرب أنت تصل منه الى الغرض بدلالة اللفظ وحده وذلك اذا
قصدت أن تخبر عن زيد مثلا بالخروج على الحقيقة فقلت خرج زيد ... وضرب
آخر أنت لا تصل منه الى الغرض بدلالة اللفظ وحده ولكن يدلك اللفظ على معناه
الذي يقتضيه موضوعه في اللغة ثم تجد لذلك المعنى دلالة ثانية تصل بها الى
الغرض ومدار هذا الأمر على الكناية والاستعارة والتمثيل .
148. IJ Khaṣ II: 331 ١٤٨ ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج٢ ، ص ٣٣١ .
الكلام انما وضع للفائدة ، والفائدة لا تجنى من الكلمة الواحدة ، وانما تجنى
من الجمل ومدارج القول .
149. IJ Khaṣ II: 447 ١٤٩ ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج٢ ، ص ٤٤٧ .
اكثر اللغة تأمله مجاز لا حقيقة .

١٥٠. الجرجاني ، دلائل الإعجاز ، ص ٨٥ . 150. Jurjānī Dal: 85
ينبغي أن يعرف في كل شيء قدم في موضع من الكلام مثل هذا المعنى ويفسّر وجه العناية فيه هذا التفسير . وقد وقع في ظنون الناس أنه يكفي أن يقال أنه قدم للعناية ولأن ذكره أهم ، من غير أن يذكر من أين كانت تلك العناية ولم كان أهم .
١٥١. الجرجاني ، دلائل الإعجاز ، ص ٨٧ . 151. Jurjānī Dal: 87
إذا قلت : أفعلت ؟ فبدأت بالفعل كان الشك في الفعل نفسه وكان غرضك ممن استفهامك أن تعلم وجوده . وإذا قلت : أأنت فعلت ؟ فبدأت بالاسم كان الشك في الفاعل من هو وكان التردد فيه .
١٥٢. الجرجاني ، دلائل الإعجاز ، ص ٩٦ . 152. Jurjānī Dal: 96
إذا قلت : ما فعلت . كنت نفيت عنك فعلا لم يثبت أنه مفعول وإذا قلت : ما أنا فعلت . كنت نفيت عنك فعلا ثبت أنه مفعول .
١٥٣. الجرجاني ، دلائل الإعجاز ، ص ٩٩ . 153. Jurjānī Dal: 99
أن يكون الفعل فعلا قد أردت أن تنص فيه على واحد فتجعله له وترزم أنه فاعله دون واحد آخر أو دون كل أحد .
١٥٤. الجرجاني ، دلائل الإعجاز ، ص ٩٩ . 154. Jurjānī Dal: 99
أنك أردت أن تحقق على السامع أنه قد فعل وتمنعه من الشك .
١٥٥. ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج ١ ، ص ٣١٧ . 155. IJ Khaṣ I: 317
وإنما كان تأخره مستحسنا من قبل أنه لما تأخر وقع موقع الخبر ، ومن شرط الخبر أن يكون نكرة ، فلذلك صلح به اللفظ .
١٥٦. ابن جنى ، لمع ، ص ١١٠ . 156. IJ Luma^C: 110
فإن كانا جميعا معرفتين كنت فيهما مخيرا أيهما شئت جعلت المبتدأ ، وجعلت الآخر الخبر ، تقول : زيد أخوك ، وإن شئت قلت أخوك زيد .
١٥٧. الجرجاني ، دلائل الإعجاز ، ص ١٣٧ - ١٣٦ ، 136, 137. 157. Jurjānī Dal: 136, 137
قولك : زيد منطلق . فعلا لم يعلم السامع من أصله أنه كان ، وثبتت في الثاني الذي هو " زيد المنطلق " فعلا قد علم السامع أنه كان ولكنه لم يعلمه لزيد فأفدته ذلك .
١٥٨. الجرجاني ، دلائل الإعجاز ، ص ١٤٤ . 158. Jurjānī Dal: 144
إذا قلت : زيد المنطلق ، فأنت في حديث انطلاق قد كان وعرف السامع كونه إلا أنه لم يعلم أمن زيد كان أم من عمرو ؟ فإذا قلت : زيد المنطلق ، أزلت عنه الشك وجعلته يقطع بأنه كان من زيد بعد أن كان يرى ذلك على سبيل الجواز ، وليس كذلك إذا قدمت " المنطلق " ، فقلت : المنطلق زيد ؛ بل يكون المعنى حينئذ على أنك رأيت إنسانا ينطلق بالبعد عنك فلم يثبت ولم تعلم أزيد هو أم عمرو فقال لك صاحبك : المنطلق زيد أي هذا الشخص الذي تراه من بعد هو زيد .
١٥٩. القزويني ، ص ٩٨ . 159. Qazwīnī 98
إذا عرف السامع إنسانا يسمى زيدا بعينه واسمه ، وعرف أنه كان من إنسان انطلاق ، ولم يعرف أنه كان من زيد أو غيره ، فأردت أن تعرفه أن زيدا هو ذلك المطلق ، فتقول : " زيد المنطلق " وإن أردت أن تعرفه أن ذلك المنطلق هو زيد قلت : " المنطلق زيد " .

١٦٠. القزويني ، ص ٩٨ .
إذا عرف السامع انسانا يسمى زيدا بعينه واسمه ، وهو يعرف معنى جنس المنطلق ، وأردت أن تعرفه أن زيدا متصف به ، فتقول : " زيد المنطلق " وأن أردت أن تعين عنده جنس المنطلق قلت : " المنطلق زيد " .
١٦١. المبرد ، ج^١ ، ص ١٧٨ .
ويقول النحويون في مؤسس إذا خففوا الهمزة : ميس ، لأنهم طرحوا حركتها على الواو فسقطت الهمزة ، ورجعت الواو الى الياء لما تحركت ، لأنه من يئثت . فهذا قول النحويين وهو الصواب والقياس .
١٦٢. الزجاجي ، الايضاح ، ص ٩٥ .
وأكثر الناس يتكلمون على سجيته بغير اعراب ، ولا معرفة منهم به .
١٦٣. الزجاجي ، الايضاح ، ص ٩٥ .
لا تفهم معانيها على صحة الا بتوفيتها حقوقها من الاعراب .
١٦٤. ابن خلدون ، المقدمة ، ص ٥٥٥ .
في ان لغة العرب لهذا العهد مستقلة مغايرة للغة مضر وحمير وذلك أنا نجدها . في بيان المقاصد والوفاء بالدلالة على سنن اللسان المضري ولم يفقد منها الا دلالة الحركات على تعيين الفاعل من المفعول فاعتاضوا منها بالتقديم والتأخير ويقرائن تدل على خصوصيات المقاصد .
١٦٥. ابن خلدون ، المقدمة ، ص ٥٦١ .
فأصبحت صناعة العربية كأنها من جملة قوانين المنطق العقلية .
١٦٦. ابن جني ، الخصائص ، ج^٢ ، ص ١٠ .
أولا ترى الى قول النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم : " نزل القرآن بسبع لغات كلها كاف شاف " .
١٦٧. ابن فارس ، المصاحبي ، ص ٤١ .
نزل القرآن على سبعة أحرف ، أو قال سبع لغات .
١٦٨. الراجحي ، ١٩٧٤ ، ص ١٦ .
موقع : وهو الذي يحدد معنى الكلمة ، اي وظيفتها مثل الفاعلية والمفعولية والظرفية وغيرها .
١٦٩. الاسترادي ، شرح الكافية ، ج^١ ، ص ٢٦٠ .
فيجوز ان يعمل في اسم واحد عملا واحدا كما في ان زيدا وان عمرا قائمان كأنهما شيئا واحدا وانما الممتنع ان يعمل عملان مختلفان في حالة واحدة عملا واحد في معمول واحد .
١٧٠. المبرد ، ج^٤ ، ص ١٥٦ .
وانما يكره الفصل بين العامل والمعمول فيه بما ليس منه .
١٧١. الصيمري ، ص ٢١٣ .
واما الكوفيون : فلا يجيزون ان آكلا زيد طعامك ، لأنهم يجعلون زيدا خبرا " ان " ، وقد فصلت بين العامل والمعمولية فيه فتفسد المسألة .
١٧٢. ابن كيسان ، ص ١٢٣ .
اعلم ان الرفع كله من وجه واحد وهو ان تقرن خبرا باسم .

١٧٣. الصيمري ، ص ٢٩٣ .
هذه الظروف من الأفعال والجمال في موضع جر بإضافتها اليه .
١٧٤. ابن عمفور ، الممتع ، ص ٥٨ .
ابنية الأصول قليلة وأبنية المزيد كثيرة منتشرة .
١٧٥. السيرافي ، ص ٥٨٩ .
فالجواب أن الصفات ، وإن كانت أسماء ، ففي الكلام أسماء ليست بصفات ، وأسماء هي صفات ، وإنما أراد الفصل بين الأسماء التي هي صفات ، والأسماء التي ليست بصفات نحو : زيد وعمرو وسائر الأعلام وأسماء الأجناس كرجل وفرس .
١٧٦. الانباري ، الأسرار ، ص ١٧٧ .
إن قال قائل : ما المفعول فيه ؟ قيل : هو الظرف ، وهو كل اسم من أسماء المكان أو الزمان يراد فيه معنى " في " .
١٧٧. سيبويه ، ج ١ ، ص ١٧٣ .
واعلم أنه ليس كل موضع ولا كل مكان يحسن أن يكون ظرفا فمما لا يحسن أن العرب لا تقول هو جوف الدار ولا هو داخل المسجد ولا هو خارج الدار حتى تقول هو في جوفها وفي داخل الدار ومن خارجها .
١٧٨. الزمخشري ، الأحاجي النحوية ، ص ٥٣ .
فإن قلت : ما الظرف وغير الظرف ؟ قلت : الظرف اسم الزمان والمكان المنتصب على معنى " في " وغير الظرف هو الجاري مجرى فرس وشوب كقولك : لتلقيـنـ منهم يوما عصيبا ، وهذا يوم مبارك .
١٧٩. الجرجاني ، المقتصد ، ص ٦٣٢ .
اعلم أن الظرف عند النحويين ما كان منصوبا على معنى حرف الجر الذي هو في (كقولك) خرجت يوم الجمعة ، وجلست خلفك ، ألا ترى أن المعنى في يوم الجمعة ، وفي خلفك . ألا ترى أن حرف الجر إذا ظهر وعمل الجر لم يسموـهـ ظرفا ، وكان اسما بمنزلة سائر الأسماء المجزوة .
١٨٠. الجرجاني ، المقتصد ، ص ٦٤٧ .
وكل ما كان فيه حرف الجر لفظا أو تقديرا فهو ظرف .
١٨١. الفارسي ، المسائل العسكرية ، ص ١٠١ .
وأما المطرد في الاستعمال الشاذ عن القياس ، فنحو قولهم : استحوذ (فهو شاذ) وإن كان في الاستعمال مطردا .
١٨٢. ابن كيسان ، ص ١١٩ .
ومما يجري مجرى الموصول جميعا ما كان في نعت النكرة فتصير النكرة بمنزلة ما وصل إذا قال جاءني رجل يضرب زيدا في الدار ، فما بعد رجل نعتـهـ ، ونعته كالصلة له .
١٨٣. ابن كيسان ، ص ١١٨ .
" مررت برجل عاقل " فتخفف عاقلا باتباعه الرجل .
١٨٤. الاسترادي ، شرح الكافية ، ج ١ ، ص ١٢٧ .
وقوع الفعل بتعلقه بما لا يعقل إلا به فعلى تفسيره ينبغي أن تكـوـن المجزوات في مررت بزيد وقربت من عمرو وبعدت من بكر وسرت من البصرة الـى الكوفة مفعولا بهما ولا شك أنه يقال إنها مفعول بها لكن بواسطة حرف الجر .

185. Sîb I: 42 ٠١٨٥ سيبويه ، ج١ ، ص ٤٢ .
وتقول ابيدالله ضرب اخوه زيدا لا يكون الا الرفع لأن الذي من سبب عبدالله
مرفوع فاعل والذي ليس من سببه مفعول فيرتفع اذا ارتفع الذي من سببه
كما ينتصب اذا انتصب .
186. Zam 55 ٠١٨٦ الزمخشري ، ص ٥٥ .
وفد يذهب بالظرف عن ان يقدر فيه معنى في اتساعا فيجري لذلك مجرى
المفعول به فيقال الذي سرتة يوم الجمعة .
187. IJ Khaş II: 87 ٠١٨٧ ابن جنى ، الخصائص ، ج٢ ، ص ٨٧ .
فأنت اذا اضفت المصدر الى الفاعل جررتة في اللفظ واعتقدت مع هذا انه في
المعنى مرفوع .

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Abbreviations

- BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
 JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
 JSS Journal of Semitic Studies
 ZAL Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik
 ZDMG Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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